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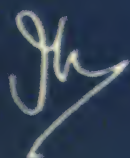
Second Series

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

Second Series

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A large, stylized white signature of Jawaharlal Nehru, consisting of a large 'J' and 'N' with a long, sweeping underline.A small, stylized white signature of Jawaharlal Nehru, similar in style to the larger one, located in the bottom left corner.

“So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the ‘third world’ as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. . . .the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.”

Indira Gandhi



16 APRIL 1949

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

Second Series

Volume Ten

A Project of the
Jawaharlal Nehru
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FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps, outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

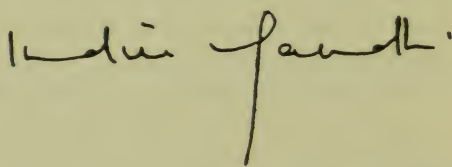
That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interest in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively

and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Indira Gandhi". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Indira" and the last name "Gandhi" clearly distinguishable.

New Delhi
18 January 1972

Chairman
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

EDITORIAL NOTE

During the ten weeks from 16 February to 30 April 1949, which have been covered in this volume, the Prime Minister was fully absorbed, after the settlement of the disorders immediately after independence, in the work of national reconstruction along with the heavy responsibility of the External Affairs Department. For building a new nation strong in the sectors of both agriculture and industry he called upon all Indians to put in sincere and hard labour with a promise to render all official help to expedite the process.

Curtailement of unnecessary expenditure, finding out ways and means to make India self-sufficient in food within a prescribed period, and working for the planned economy were Nehru's major domestic concerns. The question of the national language, development of India's own languages, and possible reorganisation of the provinces on a linguistic basis were other important issues which attracted his attention. He also took a keen interest in educational and cultural activities so that India could carve out a special niche for herself.

The items in this volume also bring out the significant role that Nehru played on the highly controversial issue of India continuing as a Republic in the Commonwealth. With great efficiency Nehru tackled the resistance at home as well as abroad to India continuing as a member of the Commonwealth while retaining the status of a Republic. In the sphere of foreign relations, Nehru was in favour of extending a friendly hand to small and weak nations. So he tried to help in settling the problem of civil war in Burma. In his dealings with the big powers, however, he wanted the goodwill of Indian people to be blended with astuteness and firmness. With the extension of Legations and Embassies in various countries, India's presence as an independent nation was felt all over the world.

We are grateful to the Nehru Memorial Library for giving us access to the relevant papers of Jawaharlal Nehru. A large number of documents and letters belonging to Shrimati Indira Gandhi have also been included in this volume and indicated in the footnotes as belonging to the J.N. Collection. Notes, letters and writings from the Secretariats of the President, the Prime Minister and the Cabinet, as well as from various Ministries and the National Archives, have been reproduced here with permission.

The biographical footnotes used in the previous volumes have not been repeated here, but references to these are available in the index.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.I.C.C.	All India Congress Committee
A.I.R.	All India Radio
B.O.A.C.	British Overseas Airways Corporation
C.A.	Constituent Assembly
C.E.N.T.O.	Central Treaty Organization
C.P.	Central Provinces
C.S.I.R.	Council of Scientific and Industrial Research
C.W.D.	Canal Waters Dispute
F.A.O.	Food and Agriculture Organization
F.I.C.C.I.	Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry
I. & B.	Information and Broadcasting
I.B.R.D.	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
I.C.S.	Indian Civil Service
I.F.C.I.	Industrial Finance Corporation of India
I.N.T.U.C.	Indian National Trade Union Congress
K.L.M.	Royal Dutch Airlines
M.E.A. & C.R.	Ministry of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations
M.L.A.	Member of Legislative Assembly
M.P.	Member of Parliament
N.A.I.	National Archives of India
N.A.T.O.	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
N.M.M.L.	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
N.P.C.	National Planning Committee
N.W.F.P.	North West Frontier Province
P.C.C.	Provincial Congress Committee
P. & T.	Post and Telegraphs
P.I.B.	Press Information Bureau
P.M.S.	Prime Minister's Secretariat
P.V.O.	People's Volunteer Organization
P.W.D.	Public Works Department
R. & R.	Relief and Rehabilitation
R.C.P.I.	Revolutionary Communist Party of India
R.I.A.F.	Royal Indian Air Force
R.S.S.	Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
U.C.R.W.	United Council for Relief and Welfare
U.N.C.I.P.	United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan
U.N.E.S.C.O.	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
U.N.O.	United Nations Organization
U.N.R.R.A.	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration
U.P.	United Provinces
U.P.P.C.C.	United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee
W.M.P.	Works, Mines and Power

NATION-BUILDING

I. General Perspectives

1. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi

19 February 1949

Nan dear,

Yesterday I received your letter of the 5th February; also your official letter of the 7th February. I was happy to hear from you again. I am writing rather briefly now as I am, more than usual, up to my eyes in problems and difficulties. As I write there are preparations for big scale trouble with the Sikhs here in Delhi today. It is possible that some of their big Akali leaders might be arrested.² They have asked for it and we have given them already too long a rope. Then we are on the verge of big strikes early next month. Fortunately, the Railwaymen's Federation has decided against a strike,³ but the Communist unions in the Railways are determined to strike. In fact, the Communists in almost every important industry want to strike round about the 9th March. In their programme is included sabotage and all that this may mean.

The food situation has given me a great deal of trouble or rather our Food and Agriculture Ministry and we want to reorganize it. Then there are, of course, refugees all the time. The Kashmir problem is not developing at all well and people seem to be pulling in different ways. Meanwhile, the Assembly is meeting and consumes a lot of time.

All this is apart from my special job, that is Foreign Affairs. As for our representative at Lake Success, we shall probably send B.N. Rau. He is a very good man, as you know, and he created a good impression in Paris. The fact that he is on the International Law Commission, offers difficulty. But perhaps he can do both jobs.

You should be able to get on well with him.

Moscow continues to be a big headache. . . we feel that it might be a good thing for Devadas Gandhi to be sent there. We have not yet mentioned it to him or to anyone else and I have no idea what his own reaction will be. Obviously he has no experience and he is not brilliant, but taking it in all he will be suitable. Anyway, I cannot think of any other suitable person.

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

2. On 19 February 1949, several Sikh leaders, including Master Tara Singh, were arrested in Delhi and the proposed Akali conference was banned. For details, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 9, pp. 418-419.

3. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 9, p.39.

These are just some suggestions that we are considering. In the next few days we shall try to come to some decision about various diplomatic appointments and shall let you know. . .

Yours,
Jawahar

2. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
February 19, 1949

My dear Krishna,

Edwina and Pamela arrived here four days ago. They went to Government House first and stayed there for three days. Since last evening they have been staying with me and will continue to do so, apart from their frequent absences from Delhi. It is good to have them here. They have come at a somewhat inconvenient time for me, when my hands are full and overfull and my mind is trying to grapple with a multitude of problems. Edwina's programme is fixed up till the 2nd March. She is going to East Punjab and Calcutta and visiting some places round about Delhi. She is also going to Allahabad for one day with me on the 1st March for the opening ceremony by the Governor-General of an extension of the Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital.

After that her programme is uncertain and it is not clear to me how she can visit all the places she wants to go to in the course of two weeks. However, I suppose ultimately some kind of a programme will emerge.

She has brought some news of you, which is both good and not so good. That is to say it is good to have news of you, but she tells me that you are not very happy. I can understand that of course. But then how can we be very happy or contented in this amazing world of ours?

The Akali Sikhs have been giving us a great deal of trouble and Master Tara Singh has exceeded all bounds. This afternoon he was arrested. This is bound to have some reaction. How big, I cannot say. It is as well that matters have come to a head.²

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. See preceding item, fn. 2.

Then there is the strike situation, more particularly relating to Railways and Posts and Telegraphs.³ The Railwaymen's Federation has decided against a strike and so have most of the Posts & Telegraphs Unions. But Unions, both Railway and P. & T., which are controlled by Communists are determined on a strike on the 9th March. The 9th of March is a day fixed for some kind of an upheaval all over India and circulars have been sent on behalf of the Communist Party approving of sabotage and destruction of property. Electric workers and others connected with essential services are all being called out. The general approach is one of organized violence. Gopalaswami Ayyangar who is in charge of Railways and Rafi Ahmed Kidwai who is in charge of Posts & Telegraphs, have gone all out to meet the demands made. But it is hardly a question of meeting any demand when the object is different. The result is that we have to face a big challenge on an organized and violent scale, in other words, a revolt and not a strike as such. Some two or three months ago these very elements burnt down the telephone exchange in Calcutta and a number of tram cars and buses were also destroyed.⁴ We have been compelled to arrest the principal organisers of this business.

Kashmir continues to be a headache in spite of all that has happened thus far. I am afraid there is little coordination between the Government of India and Sheikh Abdullah's Government, and this is injuring our cause. Owing to winter conditions, it has not been easy to visit Kashmir. Meanwhile the U.N. Commission is here.

We are entirely dissatisfied with our Paris Embassy and we intend changing it from top to bottom. Sarat Bose continues to carry on his vicious propaganda.⁵ He does not pull much weight now with most people. But some people are bound to be affected. So far as the Assembly here is concerned, members do not attach much weight to him and I have frankly told them how matters stand.

I have been thinking that it might be desirable for us to get Boyd Orr,⁶ who used to be the head of the F.A.O., to come out to India for three months to advise us on our food problems. I understand that he is not doing anything special and he would rather like to come to India. In fact I got an indirect message from him through Agatha saying that he would like to see me very much and if I wanted him to come here, he would do so. What exactly that means, I do not know. I should like you to tell me if you think it is desirable for us to invite him for a

3. The Railway Unions and the All India Council of Postmen and Lower Grade Staff Union decided to go on strike from 9 March 1949.
4. On 27 October 1948, the Calcutta Central and Entally telephone exchanges were destroyed by arson.
5. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 9, p. 189.
6. John Boyd Orr (1886-1971); agriculture expert; member of several agriculture and animal health organizations in Britain and Professor of Agriculture, University of Aberdeen, 1942-45; Director General of F.A.O., 1945-48; received Nobel Peace Prize, 1949.

short period. Undoubtedly his coming here would indicate that we are doing our utmost to tackle this difficult problem. He might wake things up here.

Keep well.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

3. Narrow-mindedness Hampers Advance¹

Reactionary forces are trying to disrupt the life of the country. It is our duty to guard the interests of our citizens. If the independence of the country is to be preserved for all times to come, the people will have to be more liberal in their outlook and dispassionate in their decisions. No community can advance by keeping itself in isolation. The fate of every community is bound up with the destiny of the nation.

With the progress of the country we march ahead and it is the duty of all the people, to whatever sect or religion they belong, to play their part. Our narrow-mindedness will hamper our advance. The conditions which prevail in this country after the partition have no doubt given it a bad name, but the way the Government have faced those difficulties has again added to the respect and dignity of India on which the eyes not only of Asia but of the whole world are fixed.

Our young people, who have all the qualities to lead the country, are misguided today. They should not be so impatient. Our Constitution will be ready by the end of the year, and thereafter elections will be held and whichever party comes to power will run the Government. If we, who are in the Government today, are thrown out, we shall support the new Government wholeheartedly, to whatever ideology it belongs. We will do it, considering it to be our duty.

Old ideologies which have outlived their utility continue to mislead certain people. You know what happened after the partition of the country. It will be the historian's job to keep these matters in mind when he sits to write. The Government today is faced with a great many problems. We have tried to solve them with the best

1. Address at a *Durbar* of Namdhari Sikhs on the birth anniversary of Satguru Ram Singh, New Delhi, 27 February 1949. From the *Indian News Chronicle*, *National Herald*, and *The Hindu*, 28 February 1949.

will. Whether the steps taken were right or wrong is a different question. But our difficulties are certainly less today than they were a year before. Having in view the numerous problems which cropped up after the independence of the country, one could say that the efforts made in that direction had not proved futile.

The whole world today is faced with a severe crisis and with it life too has become insecure. India can take the initiative in putting an end to this crisis by preaching the gospel of truth and nonviolence preached and practised by our great master, Mahatma Gandhi. People should keep it in their minds that before they go out to teach this gospel to the world they should try to mould their own life in a way which acts as an example for others. Violence will lead us nowhere.

What is needed today is a realistic approach to all the problems social, political and economic, which have to be dealt with on a progressive plane for the betterment of the country as a whole.

The country has produced many great men. They have left a rich legacy and a precious heritage. Inspiration should be sought from their lives for rebuilding the nation on a sound footing. The life of Gandhiji has influenced us for 30 years. We had begun to feel a new strength and determination under his guidance. His teachings had a deep meaning for us. The policy of truth and nonviolence which he preached and which had enabled us to win the battle of freedom is more important to us today than in his life-time. The country cannot be reconstructed by violence. Reconstruction is possible only through peaceful means.

There is talk of war in the world. By adhering to the principle of nonviolence India can take the initiative in putting an end to the crisis which is threatening the world.

In the neighbouring countries a great many problems have cropped up, but our country has definitely made some progress in spite of these disturbed conditions. We have been able to lay the foundation of a prosperous India, which may not bear fruit in our life-time, but our children will certainly benefit.

India is destined to be a great country and in that I have full confidence. Our idea of freedom is to give equal opportunities to all.

India, and the whole world, are passing through turmoil as a result of the last world war. The people of India should think hard and calmly on all the problems confronting the country and take an overall picture of the situation. They should consider all the issues in that context.

4. The Proper Approach to Economic Problems¹

Mr. President, and Members of the Federation, Yesterday in your presidential address² you touched upon a variety of problems; you referred to events in foreign countries and to domestic problems, more especially those affecting the trade, commerce and industry of this country. I am sorry I was not present here to hear that address, but I read it and tried to profit by the reading. You will not expect me to say something about everything that you said, because that would be a complicated story, but I would, with your permission, like to say something about certain broad aspects of our problems and certain broad approaches to those problems of ours.

May I just repeat, first of all, a little of what I just said in Hindustani? It is this that while it is very comforting to me to be addressed as you addressed a little while ago in terms of praise and affection and confidence, nevertheless, I have a feeling, when I come to such gatherings as this, or any other type of gathering, that I am treated, and my Government is treated, as if we were prisoners in the dock, with all our faults and errors, failings and deficiencies pointedly placed before us, not only placed before us, but sometimes even with a hint that although we are past redemption, nevertheless the duty has to be performed. That does not happen merely in such gatherings but even in the Assembly Chamber—even by colleagues of ours, not opponents. Well, I welcome criticism and I welcome your pointing out all our failings—particularly my failings, in fact, sometimes I recount them myself. I think it is good for an individual and for a nation always to try to find out where it is going wrong and to correct itself. Never to be afraid of criticism. I welcome that criticism. I do not welcome it quite so much if behind that criticism there is an imputation of *mala fides* on our part. Naturally, nobody likes that. But I find that criticism in whatever type of gathering I am going to except one which I would tell you later; we are criticized by the captains of industry—industrialists—and commercial magnates and the like. We are criticized by the leaders of labour for suppressing them. We are criticized by the refugees or displaced persons for not doing enough for them. We are criticized by Provincial Governments for not

1. Speech at the 22nd annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, New Delhi, 4 March 1949. Full text as in PIB P.M.'s Secretariat File, Vol. II. Published in all national newspapers.
2. Lalji Mehrotra in his presidential address to the 22nd annual session of the F.I.C.C.I., denounced the anti-social activities hampering the country's economic development. The industrialists, he said, themselves can help in the development of trade union movements by granting the legitimate demands. Foreign capital investment should be allowed only on terms to secure benefit from our resources.

helping them. We are criticized for not doing this or that. We are criticized for not being economical enough, for not reducing the bloated staff in the Secretariat. We are criticized for retrenchment when we try to retrench somebody and we are criticized in a variety of other ways. Our foreign policy is criticized; our domestic policy is criticized. If controls are established, we are criticized; if decontrol is established, we are criticized. Now, that I take in some measure is a healthy sign.

I said that I was not criticized in one type of gathering. That type is when I happen to come into close touch with the common people of this country. They do not criticize me and I would like you to spend a moment of thought at that. We, as a Government, are existing today because those people have faith in us. I would not be there, for instance, if I had the suspicion that the people of India—the common man of India—did not have faith in us. And it is because of that affection that we are shouldering the burden and you know very well that that burden is not a light burden or pleasant burden. Nevertheless, we are shouldering it partly because we think it is our duty to carry on this work till such time as we have completed another stage of it, till such time as we can hand it over to others, stronger and more worthy to shoulder the burden, but in the main because we have that sense of confidence of the vast majority of the Indian people.

Now, criticism, as I said, is welcome. But when we are criticized, whether as friends or as opponents, exactly what is our approach to this problem or any problem of India? It seems to me that we have not yet—and when I say “we”, I include all kinds and groups of people in this country, whether it is the industrialists or labour or workers, merchants or anybody else, or politicians like me, or Congressmen and others—that we have not adjusted ourselves to changing conditions sufficiently. We have not brought our minds in line, in tune, with the world as it is. It is a frightfully difficult task to do that, because swift as thought is, the mind lags behind events and in a period of transition through which we have been passing and through which we are still passing, the mind and men’s thoughts lag behind events.

Most of us have fashioned our thinking—whether it is political thinking or economic thinking—in terms of the India that was some years ago; certainly before this changeover took place in India. We have fashioned our approach to political action also in terms of the past which is not so distant. We do not realize that things have changed in the world on account of many things, but chiefly on account of the last big War. Tremendous changes have taken place. Tremendous changes—as you all know, and as you yourself referred in your address yesterday—are taking place in various parts of Asia—China, Burma, Indonesia and other places. Now, if the world has changed so much, surely, it should affect our thinking and we should try to understand it and try to adapt ourselves to those changes. Now, our approach to problems here was an approach of undiluted criticism of the Government that was. That was the British Government at the time. It was—and rightly so—an agitational approach, because our first duty then was to upset, to

remove and push away that Government and to have our own Government here. So we fought and struggled and ultimately succeeded.

Now, obviously that approach is not in keeping with the present situation in India. Nevertheless, most of us are still full of that same approach. We cannot get rid of it. I find most of my colleagues in the Assembly can only function in that way. They cannot function in any other way. They are very dear colleagues and all that, but it is rather distressing to find their lack of appreciation of changing conditions. If any country or any people do not understand things as they are, then those things run away without them, or in spite of them. You cannot conquer events or control events or affect the course of events unless you understand them thoroughly.

Now many of you are experts in your own field of activity and, no doubt, you analyse events fairly carefully, probably more than many other people do, and bring all your experience to bear upon an understanding of those events. Nevertheless, it is quite possible that the premises with which you start will not be always quite correct although the logic and the reasoning may be correct. Nevertheless, it may be that the basis of your thought may be something that is past today, not present. May be, you are thinking in static terms and not in terms of the dynamic world of today. All this may happen. So because of this fact there is, I feel, a tremendous unreality in the mental atmosphere of India today all round, whether I talk to you or to labour or to anybody else.

As I was sitting here, a member of your federation, who was moving or supporting a resolution, finished up by saying something about practical approach to things, because, of course, industrialists and businessmen take pride on being practical; politicians also talk of being practical. What amazes me, however, is that these men who are grounded on this practicality, whose God is "being practical", are sometimes most amazingly ignorant of men, of what is happening around. Their idea of being practical is to imagine that the world never changes and follow something that they and their forefathers have done in the past; that is being practical, just as, if I may refer to the class to whom I might be said to belong, that is the politicians' class. They are very hard-headed and practical men too. Being hard-headed and practical, people force them to bring about a huge war in the world. Dealing with terrific problems they work hard earnestly but fail to solve them and then have another war and create problems and so on. So the cycle goes on and we are all trying to be practical. Now, surely, there is something wrong about this approach to things. So, I have become a little weary of people who call themselves practical and hard-headed. That hard-headedness often represents a complete stagnation in the head.

Take another thing. In looking at either the foreign or domestic spheres today, the obvious thing that every person knows is that things are interrelated tremendously. You cannot isolate them today; you cannot consider the problems of India as if it was not related to the other problems of the world either politically

or economically. That involves our understanding what is happening in other parts of the world. It is not an easy matter because in other parts of the world there is also the same worship of what is considered being practical, with the result that it is amazing how people continue to follow a path which demonstrably has led to disaster in the past. I should have said that while it may be difficult to be wise to begin with, surely it does not require too much wisdom to avoid doing something which has led to disaster. Nevertheless, oddly enough, we have not done that. The point is that we continue to pursue a path knowing full well that it will lead to disaster. Now, either we have completely lost all sense of wisdom and we are in the grip of something in the nature of a great tragedy leading to an inevitable catastrophe and what we can do is to face the disaster and catastrophe with a certain dignity. Or else there is some way and we should look and seek that way though it may not bring the best results. Now, looking at India, the complexity of the problems we have here, and we have had a multitude of them, each one of them a major problem, and looking at the past year and a half or more during which time this Government has been functioning, I am conscious of so many things, that we have done badly, so many things that we wanted to do and we have not done. We put before ourselves rather high ideals and we have failed to achieve them in the measure we wanted to. That is perfectly true.

Nevertheless, speaking quite deliberately as Prime Minister of this great country and as representing my Government, I say to you that I have not come here with a note of apology from Government to you. I am proud of what my Government has done, and I think we have faced our problems with courage, without any excitement, problems which might have baffled many a Government and many a people. It is true that we have not done what we wanted to because we aimed and we should aim very high. It is true that we have committed errors and mistakes. But if you take an overall view of the country, whether in foreign relations or in the domestic sphere, and for the moment if you remove your eyes from the numerous eddies, whirlpools and stagnant water, you will see the main tide advancing and advancing pretty rapidly. I have not a shadow of doubt in my mind that this country is advancing and will advance rapidly in the future.

There are many people in this country whose chief business, it seems to me, is to run down their country, to run down their people, to run down the Government, to run down almost everybody. I said, I don't mind criticism, however strong however persistent. We want criticism, we want opposition if you like, I don't mind that. But I do mind this spirit of excessive pessimism, and if I may use that word, croaking about India's future. It is folly to be just optimistic and not to see facts as they are. But it is at least as great a folly to be pessimistic and imagine all kinds of evil happenings overtaking us. So, in spite of the burdens that we have to face and in spite of, if I may say so, the criticism that overwhelms us, I have a good heart when I think of India and of its future. That does not mean that we should take up a complacent attitude. Nothing could be more foolish than that. We have

big problems before us and we have to work very hard to solve them, but if we have to solve these big problems in a democratic way, that requires a very large measure of cooperation between Government and people; between the Central and the Provincial Governments; between all classes and groups of people in India. It requires faith in ourselves and in the work ahead of us and in our country. It requires, as I said, criticism certainly, but not that type of criticism which is meant to hinder, but a type of criticism which is meant to help and construct. That leads us to this that we must change our old approach that we had, and bring a new and more vital approach to the understanding of the problems.

Now, I just want to put to you another and a very difficult question that always faces me and my Government. We were born and bred, if I may say so, politically in the Gandhian doctrine. We did not adopt Gandhiji's views altogether either in regard to nonviolence or in regard to economics. Nevertheless, we accepted them from many points of view as suited to our country, and, may be, suited to the world too in some ways, if not a hundred per cent but in a large measure. Now imagine a people, who had carried through their struggle for freedom trying always to adhere to peaceful methods, having to face an extremity of violence and having to face it by the armed might of the State. Now, it was no pleasure to us to do that and it brought great problems and conflicts in our minds. We were responsible, as a Government, for peace and order in the country and if we did not maintain peace and order there was danger of the whole country going to pieces. We dared not give up that responsibility or act otherwise. We did it, but always in our minds there was this conflict and a feeling that we were hypocritical in talking about those great doctrines that Gandhiji had laid before the country and taught us. We talked of Gandhiji but proved false to him at every step. It was a painful thought to us. The facts as they were in the country quite compelled us to act in a particular way. I do not know whether it would have been better if we had acted differently. We acted according to our wisdom, not at any time denying the validity or truth of that message that Gandhiji gave us, at the same time doing something which we thought was imperative.

Now that problem in its varying phases comes up again and again. Here we are committed to civil liberty in its broadest form. There can be no freedom in a country without a wide extension of civil liberties. Here we are also interning people without trial in large numbers and some of our Provincial Governments are passing legislation of a kind to which we had taken the greatest objection in the old days. It is an irony of fate that we have to do it. Yet we have done it and done it after full thought, not casually, because the matter was of the most serious concern to us. Now, what are we to do about it? People come to us complaining about civil liberty and they find a certain answering echo in our minds, but the fact is that if we do not act, something infinitely worse takes place in the country—chaos and disorder. Not chaos and disorder only, for you know that brutal murders have taken place in some parts of the country, and if there is one thing that this

Government or any Government cannot possibly permit so long as it calls itself a Government or has even a semblance of Government, it is this kind of deliberate murder and sabotage that any group may indulge in. I do not mind the preaching of any doctrine, whatever it may be, provided there is no violence about it. I do not think any interpretation of civil liberty includes the preaching of violence or acts of violence. And we have had to deal, in the past year and a half in this country, with various phases of intensive violence whether, it came in the early days of August, September and October, in the Punjab or in Delhi, or whether it came subsequently from communal organizations and the like, or from certain labour bodies and a good deal from certain sections of the Communist Party of India, chiefly functioning at first roundabout Hyderabad—on both sides of the Hyderabad border—in West Bengal and elsewhere.³

Now, I want to make it perfectly clear that it remains our conception of civil liberty that we should allow the fullest freedom to people of all groups to preach their doctrines peacefully, provided there are no incitements to violence. It just does not matter whether we agree with that doctrine or not; if it does not lead to violence, we shall allow it to be preached. But if it does, if it is meant to lead to violence or sabotage, then it will not be allowed to be preached and if it is necessary to limit civil liberty for that purpose, civil liberty will be limited. There is no other way about it. You know, only a few days ago, of the horror that took place in Calcutta.⁴ It is not a question so much of a few persons being killed, we have become accustomed to deaths on a vast scale—but it was the manner of doing it that has upset me. What upset me was the feeling that people should deliberately indulge in that kind of thing. What is the background out of which this horror emerges. Why do our people, who normally speaking are gentle and kind to each other, develop this mentality and commit this kind of horrible deeds?

Well, we must face all and must stop that kind of thing, however much that might involve putting into prison of people without trial or with trial. Because if that kind of thing continues, then normal life of every kind stops. Only a number of gangsters survive and dominate and terrorize a community. We are not going to allow gangsterism to flourish in this country. Now, it is a great pity that this kind of thing should be associated in people's minds with labour or the workers as such, because I am convinced that the workers of India, the labour force of India,

3. Communist activities during 1948-49 had instigated numerous peasant agitations, workers' strikes and violence all over India from north to south. In October 1948, a number of Congress workers were put to death and many threatened with death in Hyderabad while on 26 February the Communists raided Dum Dum airport and an adjoining Government Gun Factory.

4. On 26 February 1949, Dum Dum airport was raided by a strong agitating mob who had also attacked the adjoining Engineering Works of Messrs Jessop Co. and a Government Gun Factory in Kashipur. They burnt alive three British and one Anglo-Indian workers, killed one policeman and wounded six others. On the same day they killed three more policemen at Bashirhat near Calcutta.

is a fine labour force, a fine lot of people. Occasionally they may get excited or misled but properly approached they are fine material and after all it is out of that material that you are going to build India. You have to deal with that material and you have to deal fairly and justly. And what has pained me most is the association in people's minds that some of these horrible deeds are the outcome of what might be called labour work or trade union work. That will be fatal. Our Government has tried to encourage the organization of labour trade unions and the like because it is well known that from every point of view, it is better that labour be properly organized, and have freedom to organize, freedom to deal with its own interests. If they are unorganized they will be unable to protect themselves or to do good for themselves. So we have encouraged it. As you know, we have also passed legislation for settlement of disputes, strikes might be avoided. Many of you, perhaps, have objected to some of the legislation that we have passed. Yet, there is no alternative; either you have strikes and major strikes or you have some machinery for the settlement of disputes. Obviously the latter course is better, provided the machinery is a good machinery, is not meant to harass any party and is meant to see that justice and fairplay is effected. We are proceeding on those lines and we intend proceeding on those lines in spite of the misguided efforts of either some of the workers or some of the employers. It is not good government getting excited and giving up the cause which is talked about if some people misbehave and thus punishing vast numbers of others. That would be a very wrong thing to do. Nevertheless, we have to face the situation today which might lead certain people, certain unions or others affiliated to the Communist Party, indulging in not only strikes of the normal type but something far worse—sabotage, destruction and disruption. Some days ago, I made a statement⁵ in the Assembly which you might have seen. Now we are going to meet that situation and are going to put an end to this kind of business. Let there be no mistake about it. What troubles me is not our lack of ability to meet it, because we will meet it, we are strong enough to meet it. We will not bother about that, but what troubles me is that this kind of conflict leaves a trail of evil behind it, and ill will, and a kind of impression spreads among other sections of the community that the industrial workers of India or the railway workers of India are to blame. But, as a matter of fact, the great majority of them are decent folk who do not want to do anything of this kind. But so far as this particular challenge is concerned, it has got to be met and it will be met.

Now, if I may address you particularly, that is the industrialists and others concerned with India's commerce, a great deal of stress has been laid in the past year or two on the sensitiveness of the investors, of the businessmen and the industrialists. They are frightfully delicate persons and if any wrong word is said

5. On 28 February 1949, Nehru spoke in Parliament on communist activities in India. See section 3, item 2.

or some speech is delivered, their temperature goes up. The sensitiveness of the body or of the mind or of the spirit is nothing compared to the sensitiveness of the pocket. I should like you just to think about it, of the talk that has taken place in the last year or so, of how the groups which you represent so well, how they have been frightened by some budget or by something else that has happened or by certain other measures taken or not taken. All this has been repeatedly said and there is, no doubt, some truth in it. I do believe you have been frightened. But do you think it has redounded to your credit in the country by recounting to all and sundry repeatedly about getting frightened by anything that happens? May I tell you that instead of adding to your credit, it has made people think that you are rather a timid folk, not in your prime. When I say not in your prime I am not referring to individual ages but rather to the fact that—and this is a fundamental fact—whether the capitalists and industrialists in India are big enough to face the problems of the day or not big enough, and generally the idea is spreading that their stature is rather small and that they get frightened at the slightest upset and start complaining and retiring into their shells and asking others to help them, to pull them out and to push them on. Now, you are entitled to seek help from Government, ask for it and all that, but it is bad for you or for any group to give the impression of this frailty and feebleness.

After all, in the world today, it is said that various ideologies are in conflict, economic ideologies also. In the main, it is two—on the one side the so-called capitalist ideology and on the other the so-called communist or Soviet ideology. I think this is an extraordinarily crude way of putting the question. It is a fact that there are different economic approaches to the problem and further each party is convinced of its own approach. But it does not necessarily follow that you must have either this or that. There may be many intermediate ways. Now, you all know that capitalism or the industrial capitalism that came into the world about 150 years ago or so had a big problem before it—the problem of production. It has now solved that problem in theory, and mostly in practice in large parts of the world. Therefore industrial capitalism has been, in spite of everything, a tremendous success. It has solved the problem of production. Having said that, the other question arises: how far it is solving the other problems of the day. It is on its trial today—whether it can solve the problem of distribution also with equal success as it has solved the problem of production. If it cannot solve that problem, then some other way will have to be found. It is not a question of theory, of communism, or socialism, or capitalism; it is a question of hard fact. In India if we do not solve ultimately the basic problems of our country—food, clothing, housing, etc., etc.—it does not matter whether we call ourselves capitalists, socialists, Communists or anything else, if we fail to solve these problems, we will be swept away and somebody else will come in and try to do it. So ultimately these major problems of the day are not going to be solved by argument or by war but by the fact, as to which method succeeds in delivering the goods. Whatever method that might be, that method

which delivers the goods and brings about the necessary change and gives satisfaction to the masses will justify itself and give hope. That method need not necessarily be an extreme method belonging to either of these two rival ideologies. It may be anything in between.

In fact, you find in the world today in most countries an attempt to find other ways which certainly are completely divorced from the old-style capitalism, and which go towards what is normally called socialism. They are approaching fast towards it. It may be that in India we may also find some way more suited to the conditions of our people, some middle way of that type. Therefore, I am not enamoured of these 'isms' so much and my approach is, and I should like to say the country's approach should be, rather a pragmatic approach of considering the problem and forgetting the 'ism' attached to it. Our problem today is to raise the standard of the masses, supply them with their needs, give them the wherewithal to lead a decent life, to help them to progress and advance in life not only in regard to material things but in regard to cultural and spiritual things also. What will happen in the distant future, I do not know, but I should like to set them on that road and I just do not care how or what the 'ism' is that helps me to set them on that road, provided I get there. And if one thing fails, we will try another. We need not be dogmatic about this approach or that approach. Anything that comes in the way has simply to be ignored, or will be swept away. With all respect, I should like to inform you that if your demands come in the way of the good of the masses, your demands will be completely ignored. Of course they need not and they should not, because your interests are tied up with their interests really, but I do object to your going about the country—and I say so in your interest—and talking about your demands and how much your pocket has suffered. Forget your pocket and if you cannot forget, do not mention it. It goes against you. So the only test should be whether it is good for the masses, and no other.

Now, take another thing which seems to be almost like a red rag to the proverbial bull—nationalization. What exactly does that mean in the context of India? Sometime back last year, I think, I spoke on that subject.⁶ I forget if I addressed you on that, but I spoke in the Assembly. Other people have spoken about it. The Deputy Prime Minister the other day said something about it.⁷ People seem to imagine that the Government is shifting about from one policy to another and cannot make up its mind.

6. Speech in the Constituent Assembly on 17 February 1948. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 5, pp. 357-366.

7. In reply to a memorandum presented by various Chambers of Commerce at Madras on 22 February 1949, Vallabhbhai Patel said, "Don't be afraid of nationalization.... this Government has not the capacity and means to undertake nationalization of any industry at present. If anybody talks of nationalization it is only for leadership and not for nationalization."

Well, as a matter of fact, there has been no doubt in the Government's mind about this matter. There has been not even the necessity for us to reconsider anything because our mind was quite clear about it. Our mind was clear not because of certain theories, though of course there is theory behind everything, but essentially because of certain practical considerations. We think that in India, as it is today—I will not talk about the world, because each country has its own problems and has its own way of approach—certain basic industries—the key industries—should be under State's control, whatever the State may be—whether it is the Central, State, Provincial or municipal. Partly because it is dangerous for those key and basic industries to be controlled by private interests and for other reasons also, which you need not go into. As for the other industries, they can be under private control, but remember again that when a State plans its industrial or other development, planning itself involves a certain measure of control or direction from the State, otherwise there can be no planning, so that in effect this is not a new thing. The Indian National Congress 17 years ago laid down this policy of State's control of basic key industries or mother industries and certain other essential industries and services.⁸ Now, that is the initial approach to it. Secondly, what should be tackled immediately and what should be tackled later. In a statement on industrial policy⁹ we mentioned certain things which we thought must be immediately undertaken by the State or nationalized—if you like to use that word—and for the rest we said, even in regard to certain basic and key industries, that we would not touch them for at least ten years, may be more. It did not also mean that we are going to touch them immediately after the 10-year period. Why did we say that? Not, to be perfectly frank with you, because of love for those who control those industries, but because our resources were limited and so we came to that conclusion. Because we were anxious to help in industrializing the country, we felt that the resources that we had would be far better used in starting new basic industries or new big schemes as we have in view than in merely transferring the ownership of some industries from private hands to the State control. So, in the balance, we thought we would maintain those private industries and give them every encouragement in every way. We do not know when the time may come when we may nationalize them, but in the meanwhile we may build up a nationalized structure of new industries, apart from certain essential industries like defence etc. which must be nationalized anyhow. So it was a question of utilizing our resources to the best advantage and proceeding ahead in consultation with the people concerned including representatives of commerce and industry and other interests so that we may get

8. The Karachi Congress resolution in 1931 stated that "the State shall own or control key industries and services, mineral resources, railways, waterways, shipping and other means of public transport."
9. Speech at the Industries Conference, New Delhi, 18 December 1947. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 4, pp. 570-579.

the best value out of our money and at the same time not upsetting things that were going on.

The Deputy Prime Minister said¹⁰ the other day in Madras or Hyderabad something to the effect that looking at our present resources, we just are not going to nationalize some of the other things we have left out, because if we did that we will stop development in other sectors of our national economy. So entirely from the practical point of view, as well as from the point of view of not upsetting anything which is working today which we want to work, we have arrived at this decision. Now, you and we and all of us in fact have to understand each other, and if you think that we are out to injure your interests, then, of course, cooperation is difficult. Or if we think that you are out to play a lone hand in injuring our interests, our economy, not as individuals but the State, then there can be no cooperation, because there is lack of faith in each other. May be we do not always agree but the fact is that, whether we agree or we do not agree, commonsense should dictate that we should pull together. Otherwise, it is good for neither, and I want you to think about that, because you know very well that whatever the rights and wrongs of things may be, the industrialists and the commercial classes in India have become rather unpopular with the general mass of the people. They have become unpopular because some people amongst them have not behaved rightly, have taken advantage of situations to seek profit for themselves at an inordinate rate to the disadvantage of the community at large. That kind of thing done perhaps by a relatively small number, or whatever the number may be, has stuck to the commercial community. It has given you a bad name and I do not quite know how you can get rid of that bad name. But I say to you to make every effort to do so, because ultimately it is not through legislation or through Government protection that we can go very far in the production of everything, but through the goodwill of the various parties concerned in that undertaking. If there is a certain feeling that the commercial community has not acted rightly towards the general public, something has got to be done in the nature of, if I may say so, *prayaschit*, and I am quite serious about it. It is a very serious matter that labour has misbehaved, in many places terribly, and the recent example in Calcutta is pretty bad. Now we can criticize it and control. But it is one thing for labour to misbehave, that is to say, after all they are not trained to a high standard of behaviour, it is quite another thing for persons who have to set a standard to others to misbehave. That is bad and that, again, gives an opportunity to labour to misbehave because they see others do so also and so the vicious circle goes on. So I would like you to think of this and to see to it that the kind of case you put to the public is a case in which they do not see so much self-interest, they also see that you are acting for the community as you ask others to act, because after all we have to sink or swim together whether it is the labour force in India or whether it is the industrialists.

10. See *ante*, fn. 7.

It amazes me to see in India today people or groups who are out to create trouble and disaster and chaos that has nothing to do with any 'isms'. So far as I am concerned, communism or socialism or anything, I cannot imagine any Communist, if he is honest and if he thinks in terms of India's future, indulge in the activities that the Indian Communist Party is indulging in today. It is immaterial, whether I agree or disagree with Communists, but I say the activities of some groups in India today, regardless of the merits of the social theory they have, have nothing to do with the future good of India. They are based on entirely extraneous considerations. They are based, I believe, on the deliberate object of creating chaos in India, out of which perhaps ultimately they may hope something new may emerge. Now that is a very curious approach, to ruin this running machine of India and perhaps waiting for a generation or two for something else to emerge. That is the thing which I am quite sure the people of India will never tolerate. It is that they are up against. We are up against certain groups who want chaos and disorder in India as they have created chaos and disorder in Burma and elsewhere. That has to be combated by all and that can only be combated if each group does not pull differently and talk in terms of its own interest but in terms of the State or the general good.

Now, one thing more, about food. Food has become almost the basic problem for us today. Food is one of the things on which I think it can be said rightly that we have failed in dealing with the situation. I think the very ease with which we have been able to get stuffs from abroad has rather prevented us from facing the problem properly. I think we should think in terms of not getting any food at all after a certain period from abroad—let us put it at two years, I should not add a day more—and just make up our mind that we shall live with the food that we produce after two years or die in the attempt. Now, I am quite convinced in my own mind that essentially, basically, the food problem of India is not a difficult problem. Somehow or other, we have made it difficult. After all, the deficit in food, I believe, now is about 6% or 7%. It may even be 10% because of bad seasons. Surely, now, it should be easily possible quite apart from the long-distance schemes, the schemes which will bear fruit after about five, six or ten years, it should be easily possible in the course of the next two years or so to make adjustments by increasing intensively our growth of food, cultivating fresh areas, etc., or by change of food habits, whatever it may be, to fill this deficit of 7% to 8% and that is how I should like both the Central Government and the Provincial Governments and the other agencies to function. It is no good our carrying on in that way, depending on vast quantities of food from outside and getting into greater difficulties.

I have taken a lot of your time and I have not perhaps referred to many of the points that the President referred to in his address. As you know, we are now discussing our budget in Parliament here. And that budget, like the many things that we do, is being fiercely attacked by all kinds of people. That budget is essentially a cautious budget, a non-adventurous budget and a budget which has

come out of our very able Finance Minister's mind after a great deal of thought.¹¹ It is easy to criticize it, but I want to tell you that we have looked upon this problem rather deliberately with a view not to results today but rather to the results in the next year. It was easy enough for us to say or do things now which might have made this Government a little more popular. It was quite easy, but we had the courage not to seek popularity that way, but to try to lay the foundations for a big advance soon after, as we intend doing. Whether that way of working is welcome to the public or not, I do not know, because people prefer something good immediately to a future promise. But after all we, as a Government, have to think not of today but of tomorrow and the day after. We have to think of building up this great structure of India on firm foundations. We have tried to lay those firm foundations during the last year or two. But before we can even start laying those foundations we met dragons on the way and we had to fight those dragons, and if not kill them, disable them at least. We have plenty of other wild animals to face. Nevertheless, the foundations of that future India are being laid today and we would be false to our own faith in that future if we imperil that future by doing something now which might be pleasing, but might not bear results tomorrow—the results that we seek. We are, after all, a kind of caretaker Government waiting for the Indian republic to come into existence, to hand over charge of India, of an India which has already achieved a certain measure of greatness and is rapidly advancing to higher fields and to a far greater status in every way, both domestically and internationally. *Jai Hind*.

11. The budget presented on 28 February 1949, announced measures of taxation relief of about 6 crores, while additional taxation of about rupees 20 crores was severely criticized by all shades of people. See section 7, item 1, fn. 15.

5. Danger of Disunity¹

The British had not conquered this country after any big fight but they made the fullest use of the prevailing differences among Indians. India should sink

1. Speech at a public meeting, Puri, Orissa, 12 March 1949. From *The Hindustan Times* and *Hindusthan Standard*, 13 March 1949.

all her differences now and stand solidly. The nation should be revitalized, which is necessary not only to maintain political independence but also to achieve the economic independence of a country.

The Communists are trying to sabotage the efforts of the Government in all directions. They have at heart neither the good of the people in general, nor the good of the labourers, whom they exploit to gain their own ends, which is not national or political, but something else, some ideal of some other country.

The only purpose the Communists have before them is to organize a strike in the Railways and to create trouble in the country. Dealing with that situation the only thing before the Government is not how to put it down, but how to maintain the essential railway service, which is vitally necessary in order to feed the people in Kathiawar and Gujarat, who are experiencing food shortage.

Stoppage of the railway service for one day would have resulted in the death of a lakh of people due to starvation. What could a Government have done in such circumstances other than what we did? In order to perform the duties and responsibilities of my office so long as the people want me to remain there, I would not spare any pains to protect the country from such dangers. We cannot allow anybody to endanger the peace and tranquillity of the country which is very essential at this juncture of India's newly gained freedom.

There are two sets of people in the country, one interested in construction and the other in destruction. The people should work on the side of construction and help production. Otherwise the whole income would be spent in procuring food from abroad. India must be made self-sufficient in food at least within a couple of years.

The situation in Asia, particularly the state of affairs in China, Indonesia, Siam, Malaya, Burma, Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran and Palestine, make clear that India alone can lead them. The people of all these countries and the people of the whole world are now looking up to India to give a lead and I have no doubt in my mind that India will rise to the occasion and give the lead.

India has obtained Swaraj, but that is political Swaraj. The Swaraj which Mahatma Gandhi had contemplated is yet to come. When Gandhiji started his movement he had two objects in view—political independence and economic independence. The country had achieved one during his life-time and it is for the people now to see that the second one is fulfilled. For this the assistance of one and all is necessary and this cannot be done by a few men sitting at Delhi, although they also are doing their best towards that end.

The Government is being criticized for not nationalizing the industries. This is the decided policy of the Congress and must be done. But it is not the Congress policy to do it forcibly without compensating the owners. The question then is, where to get the requisite funds? The funds must come from the people. Are the people rich enough to pay for it? We have to think twice before deciding our policy.

We have decided to start nationalization of the essential industries in the first instance with the little surplus or available money. We have decided at first to start big projects like Hirakud, etc., which in the long run will be paying concerns and will enrich the country as a whole. This is the reason why, instead of leaving these projects to private enterprise, the Government have taken them up as their own.

The Congress is committed to the abolition of the zamindari system and this will be done. If the zamindaris are abolished today, zamindars have to be compensated. This involves a huge expenditure. The question before us is whether such huge expenditure should be undertaken for acquiring zamindaris or to utilize that money on industrial projects.

India is a secular State, where people of all nationalities and religions have the same right, whereas Pakistan is an Islamic state. The R.S.S. wants to revive Hindu culture and civilization by wiping out the Muslims. I doubt whether it is in keeping with Hindu culture and civilization to wipe out the people of other religions or to allow the people following other religions to do so without any interference or rather with State protection. I cannot dream of a bigoted culture. Communal feeling has resulted in the division of India into Pakistan and Hindustan and it cannot be allowed to continue any further. India must and has already become a secular State. Even the Muslims who have gone to Pakistan are returning back.

I deprecate the tendency on the part of the provinces to approach the Centre for financial aid. The Central Government is trying to give fullest possible assistance to Orissa in pursuance of the policy of the Centre to see all the provinces stand well-fed, on the path of progress.

The provincial feelings that prevail in the country, can easily be handled in a calmer atmosphere. The present atmosphere is not suitable to decide such a question. India has been an independent country for a year and her solidarity has to be built up. Nothing which will endanger the unity of India can be allowed to grow. India is not afraid of any outside danger, but she must safeguard against any danger from within.

The *adivasi* trouble in Mayurbhanj is unfortunate.² It matters little whether the state remained in one province or in the other. The *adivasis* have been misled by interested people. After due consideration, Mayurbhanj has been finally merged with Orissa, and no amount of agitation, fomented by interested parties, can change that decision. The *adivasi* problem will be solved soon by the Provincial Government.

2. Mayurbhanj was merged with Orissa on 2 January 1949, following an agreement signed by the Maharaja on 17 October 1948, against the *adivasi* demand of merger with Bihar. Protest demonstrations by the tribals turned violent and led the police to open fire on 6 February at Rairangpura in Mayurbhanj, killing seven and injuring many more.

6. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
March 21, 1949

My dear Krishna,

I have received two or three letters² from you in the course of the last few days. One is dated 6th March with a copy of a letter from Sardar Patel dated 20th February. Another is dated 11th March containing an account of your interview with Lord Addison,³ and a third, a long one, handwritten, is oddly enough dated 6th November 1948, although it is obvious that it has been written in the course of the last few days. Why you made such a curious mistake is a mystery.

This letter is being taken by Edwina, who I hope will see you before she goes off to Nice. Yesterday Bajpai sent a telegram to you suggesting that you might come here as soon as possible. As you know, we wanted you to come anyhow about the middle of April. Then the possibility of my going to London in the third week of April arose and I thought it would be better for you to postpone your visit to India. On reconsideration, however, of this matter, we came to the conclusion that the sooner you come here, the better. Your presence here, while Gordon Walker was having his talks, would be useful, and apart from that, I should like to have talks with you before I have to go to this proposed Dominion Premiers' Conference.⁴ Please therefore come as soon as you can. I am not quite sure when Gordon Walker is coming here, but he might well reach Delhi by the 26th or 27th.

Bajpai has suggested in his telegram to you that you might see Cripps,⁵ Addison and the Lord Chancellor⁶ and if feasible, Attlee, before you come here. The idea was that you should be quite up to date about the position at the other end. But I do not want you to delay your departure in order to see any of these people. As you are coming here, the sooner the better.

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. Krishna Menon's letters dealt with two important controversial issues, one relating to India's independent status in the Commonwealth and the discussion that Nehru would have at the forthcoming Dominion Premiers' Conference in London on 20 April. The second point was criticisms made by some important Indians, in London, of some activities of the Indian High Commission and Krishna Menon. People like P.C. Bhandari, C.L. Katial and S.P. Mookerjee of Indian Association, London, blamed Krishna Menon for all malpractices in the administration of the High Commission, and wanted Krishna Menon's removal from the posting.
3. Christopher 1st Viscount Addison (1869-1951); Member, Faculty of Medicine, University of London; Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, 1945-47; Paymaster General, 1948-49; Lord Privy Seal, 1947-51.
4. The Dominion Premiers' Conference was held on 20 April 1949.
5. Chancellor of the Exchequer.
6. William Allen, Lord Jowitt.

About five days ago, I sent my reply to Attlee about the Dominion Premiers' Conference. A copy of this was sent to you. I have had no reply from Attlee and so, I cannot finalize anything. Perhaps a reply might come in a day or two. I entirely agree with you that this conference is not something to be eagerly welcomed and I do not myself see what a formal conference like this can decide. I have in fact pointed this out to Attlee. But if it is held, then it is difficult to keep away and I have agreed to attend it. The proposed date for the conference is the 20th April. Owing to Chandralekha's marriage⁷ I cannot leave before the 19th, that is, I cannot reach London before the 20th night.

There is a great deal to write to you about, but this letter has to be finished soon as Edwina has to take it. As you are likely to be here during the next few days, much that I want to tell you can be reserved for a talk. I shall only indicate some matters here.

I have shown Sardar Patel's reply to you and your letter on this subject to me, to the Governor-General. I have also shown him your other letters to him, as I thought he might be kept informed. The only other person who has seen them is Bajpai, though I have spoken to Edwina rather vaguely about the contents of the letters.

I think I have a fairly full realization of the pinpricks and other difficulties you have to contend against. I know that there is a small group bent on maligning you and on pushing you out of India House. This is not only irritating to you, but at least as much to me. I shall deal with that group in my own way either from here or when I go to London. But I wish you to realize that apart from that particular group, we have to face this kind of thing all the time here in a most offensive form—not about you, I mean, but about ourselves. Sarat Bose, a completely discredited individual, has been carrying on this campaign and indulging in a multitude of lies and calumnies. His paper, the *Nation*,⁸ has astonished even me by its falsehoods, etc. Probably Sarat Bose and the *Nation* are the biggest supporters, in a sense, of Pakistan propaganda, and the Pakistan Press takes full advantage of this. In regard to Kashmir, he has been particularly bad.⁹ We have contradicted this kind of thing on several occasions publicly, and privately I have

7. Chandralekha Pandit, daughter of Vijayalakshmi Pandit was married to Ashok Mehta on 14 April 1949.
8. The *Nation*, an English language daily, established by Sarat Chandra Bose, published reports of favouritism by Krishna Menon with regard to the appointments in the Council of the Trustees of the India Association and Institute in London. It accused him of not presenting its accounts for auditing and claimed that no account was rendered for a sum of £ 2000 spent on the Indian Students Bureau.
9. In a public speech on 23 January, Sarat Bose said that he had once predicted that if a plebiscite was taken in Kashmir, Pakistan would get the majority vote i.e. the Kashmir valley would go to Pakistan and Jammu would be retained by India. He accused the Government of India of playing into the hands of the Anglo-American bloc by taking the Kashmir issue to the U.N.

spoken at length about it to the Congress Party in the Legislature. There is hardly a man there, who stands up for Sarat Bose. We are even thinking about the possibility of legal action against the *Nation*. But this kind of thing is always rather a risky venture in the sense that it gives a lot of publicity to otherwise not too well-known figures.

What you write about Dutt's visit to London has something in it.¹⁰ I have no doubt that your opponents will try to make out that this is something against you. The fact of the matter is that it has nothing to do with this business and was thought of long before, as a general part of what we are doing with our ministries and departments here. The proposal in fact was that the Economy Committee¹¹ might send someone abroad, not only to London but to other places, to look into the working of our Embassies. We put an end to this and told them that we would deal with the matter in our own way. The Economy Committee has been a perfect nuisance and their approach has been completely wrong. In fact there is very strong feeling against this approach here. Amrit Kaur threatens resignation, because they want to cut down her staff and she is working herself to death. We have to face this kind of thing with our immature people who try to make out that they are the trustees and guardians of the public purse. We have had two or three lengthy meetings of the Party to deal with all this business of mutual criticism all the time and running down and we have taken a fairly strong line about it. The fact of the matter is that many of our old Congress folk have been totally unable to adjust themselves to changing conditions and there is thus an hiatus in their minds and activities.

You mention in your letter that somebody, for instance, Amrit Kaur, should have stood up for you. As a matter of fact, Amrit Kaur has said a great deal about you, but not in public. It is not considered desirable by us that either she or I or anyone else should do so in public. We were answering very specific charges in Sarat Bose's statement, and coming out in general defence would not have helped much. There is, as a matter of fact, not much of criticism here in the Legislature or in Delhi. A few persons sometimes indulge in it in private. It does not go far and the attitude we have taken up has rather squashed this kind of thing. You mention Katial.¹² What he does in private, I do not know. But I have not had any report of any kind about his activities relating to London or India House. He is hardly in evidence at all anywhere and I do not see him for months.

10. Subimal Dutt, the then Commonwealth Secretary, was sent to London to look into the complaints of extravagant and unnecessary expenditure in the High Commission.
11. An Economy Committee under the Chairmanship of Kasturbhai Lalbhai was set up in 1948 to review the increase in the civil expenditure of the Central Government since 1939 and to recommend the promotion of true economy and elimination of wasteful and extravagant expenditure.
12. C.L. Katial, Director General, Employees' State Insurance Corporation, July 1948-July 1953. Until 1947 he had been Treasurer and Trustee of the India Association and Institute in London. Also see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 5, p. 62.

About Sarat Bose, you can write nothing to me which would add to my contempt for his activities. But if there are any facts in your possession, you can certainly let me have them.

You say that the little group in London, which is opposed to you, aims at pushing you out within three months. Well, they just are not going to do it and I do not think they will come well out of this picture. If there were not adequate reasons of other kinds for you to stay on at India House, this mere fact of some people trying to push you out in this way is quite enough to make it incumbent on you to stay on. I am quite clear that you should stay on and I am informed that this is the general opinion here. In fact, perhaps inevitably you exaggerate the effect of all these petty pinpricks in India. It has very little effect and nobody pays attention to it. Naturally as you are yourself concerned and you have to face this situation in London, you think that it is a little more important than it actually is, or that it is producing some kind of effect on others. I shall only say that I am quite convinced that you should stay on in London and there has never been any doubt in my mind on the subject.

Sardar Patel's letter to you is not very happily worded. But it is rather typical of him and it is a frank letter. As he says in the letter, he was shocked and distressed on receiving Sanjeevi's report.¹³ He has got out of that feeling, but no doubt a slight feeling of hurt remains. He has rather changed in some ways during the past few months. He has been a target of many attacks, more especially in regard to the assassination of Gandhiji and he has become rather nervous on certain subjects. Any express or implied criticism of him in this context upsets him.

About the larger question that you raise about the purpose of life, it is a little difficult for me to say much, because logic and reason do not carry us very far. Ultimately one has to rely on a certain faith in oneself. If you have that, then it is well. To some extent I possess it and, therefore, I carry on with a measure of confidence. But it is true that many of us have become doubtful about so many things that we valued and had faith in. That nexus to which you refer between faith in oneself and faith in the cause is strained and sometimes broken. Yet one carries on for a variety of reasons. Ultimately it is some vague faith in something undefinable that makes one carry on. Speaking for myself, I have had a great many shocks during the past year and I have felt terribly depressed. I have not hesitated even to talk about this in public. Still, I must say that my general outlook has become more confident. I cannot justify this, except to tell you about my own reactions to events. It may be just due to wishful thinking or it may be due to a certain irresponsibility in my nature (you know, I am a bit of a vagabond), which does not care too much for what happens. However, that may be, I feel in a little better trim to face our problems. These are heavy enough and cause me any amount of worry. In the final analysis these problems resolve themselves into one of poverty

13. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 9, p.386.

of human nature, especially in India. The more one looks around one and sees people functioning in various capacities or not functioning at all in any capacity, the more one wonders how things get done at all, even to the extent they are done. Somehow we do move, though the movement is slow. There is coming back gradually in India an air of optimism in spite of everything. Whether that is justified or not, I do not know. But I share it and in any event that does create a helpful atmosphere.

Edwina's visit to India and her stay for a month has done me a lot of good. Perhaps that is an additional reason for my feeling a little better than I might have done otherwise.

I know well enough that India House, generally speaking, is run efficiently and there has been a great improvement in it during the past year or more. I imagine it is run better than many of our departments here. But, quite apart from individuals or groups of detractors, India House cannot escape the type of criticism we have to face continually in each of our ministries and departments. Our people have long been in the habit of criticizing every governmental office or machinery. Most of them have no conception of what it should be and are upset at the large sums of money spent. They have been brought up to think in terms of village standards and they just cannot adjust themselves to anything else. All our criticism of the British Government in this respect comes back like a boomerang on us. Therefore, we have to deal with India House just as we deal with any Ministry here. This becomes a general matter, not a particular one connected with you. I have no doubt that each one of our ministries here, as well as India House, are capable of being made more efficient, if we set about it the right way. It was purely from this point of view that we decided to send Dutt to confer with you and later to meet you here. That procedure, I think, should hold good and we must not be put off by it because some one in London or elsewhere exploits it for other purposes. These people might as well say that your forthcoming visit to India is to call upon you to explain something or the other, which is of course absurd. I am asking you to come here specially to discuss this very important matter of India and the Commonwealth and I have informed the Congress Party here to this effect.

I am thinking of writing to Bhandari directly and telling him exactly how I feel about his activities.¹⁴

If I go to London next month, I should prefer to stay at Claridges. The only persons who are likely to accompany me are Bajpai and Mathai. Please do not make any elaborate arrangements for us. Three bed rooms and a sitting room is the most we should have. I do not want to stay more than ten days or so in England. On my way back I have promised Dhirubhai Desai to spend two days at Berne.

14. P.C. Bhandari had been Chairman of the India Association and Institute in London till he was replaced and excluded from the membership of the Council of Trustees of the Association after August 1947. See *post*, Section 10, sub-section IV, item 8.

I have also a vague idea in my mind about visiting Ankara or Istanbul on my way back. It is not particularly important, but it might be helpful. The Turkish Ambassador¹⁵ here is continually apologizing to us about Turkey's policy and telling us that they are compelled by circumstances to adopt it,¹⁶ but in their heart of hearts they feel many other things. However, I shall decide about this later and I am not mentioning it to anybody. But Switzerland I should like to go to.

Edwina tells me that Dickie is going to London anyhow round about the 22nd or 23rd April for some business there. If so, I might meet him and I should like to do so. Edwina also insists on my going for a brief weekend to Broadlands.¹⁷ Naturally I shall love to do so, but my visit is likely to be so short that it may not be easy to fit all this in. You will remember the correspondence I had with Bernard Shaw.¹⁸ I do not know if I sent you his later letters. But he had expressed a desire to see me and if at all possible, I should like to do so.

This is a longer letter than I had intended and there is barely time to get it ready before Edwina leaves. However, I hope it will serve some purpose in pulling you out of the depressed state of mind which your last letter displayed. It is just not good enough for us to be depressed in this fast changing world. I hope I shall see you soon and talk over many matters. One of my difficulties is that I cannot talk about somethings at least to anybody. You will of course stay with me in Delhi. There is no lack of room in this new mansion where I stay.¹⁹

Yours
Jawaharlal

15. Ali Turkgeldi, Turkey's Ambassador to India.

16. Turkey was firmly committed to the western powers.

17. The country estate of the Mountbattens in Hampshire.

18. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 7, pp. 715-716.

19. Nehru moved into Teen Murti House, originally the residence of the Commander-in-Chief, in 1948. It is now the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.

7. Invitation to S.A. Trone¹

... Some months ago, our Ambassador in China wrote to us about a certain Mr. Trone,² an American electrical engineer, who had been intimately connected with

1. Note to Secretary-General and Foreign Secretary, 7 April 1949. File No. 26(94)/49-PMS. Extracts.

2. American electrical engineer; served with U.S. General Electric Company; managing director of Russian General Electric Company before 1917 and later associated with power development during the first five-year plan of U.S.S.R.; worked on electricity projects in several places including Baku, Poland and Amur Valley; industrial adviser to Chinese Government, 1943-44; member of American delegation to Allied Commission on Reparations, 1945.

planning in the Soviet Union and subsequently in Nationalist China. He had been sent to the Soviet Union by the General Electric Company of the U.S.A. Panikkar wrote to us that he was not only a man of vast experience but an outstanding person in this field, and he strongly recommended that we might send for him for a few months to advise us. I forwarded his letter to the Finance Minister who said that there was nothing much doing in regard to planning at present and, therefore, we should not ask Trone to come here.

I forgot about the matter. Panikkar spoke to me about it again two or three days ago and from his conversation I gathered the impression that this man might be of very great help to us in considering the question of planning. We are likely to do this in the course of the next month or two. I have, therefore, asked Panikkar to approach Trone and suggest to him to come to India for three months to advise us. We will have to pay him his present salary in China plus expenses. This may amount altogether to about rupees twenty to twenty five thousand for three months. I think, however, that it is worth incurring this expenditure, and I have, therefore, taken the responsibility upon myself to tell Panikkar to take the necessary steps. He will communicate to us Trone's reply. We can then finalize this matter.

8. India Belongs to its Citizens¹

I am convinced that the measure of India's progress will be the measure of our giving full effect to what has been called a secular State. That, of course, does not mean a people lacking morals or religion. It means that while religion is completely free, the State, including in its wide fold various religions and cultures, gives protection and opportunities to all, and thus brings about an atmosphere of tolerance and cooperation.

During our struggle for freedom the Jamiat took a prominent part in it and shared to the full the adventures and sacrifices of that struggle. It is right, therefore, that old comradeship should continue in the new order of things in India.

We have many difficult problems before us in India today, but we have shown already that one by one we are solving these problems. Many remain. I have little doubt that even these will find solution. I am convinced that India will march ahead in the months and years to come, bringing an ever-increasing measure of contentment to her people and playing a part in maintaining world peace.

1. Message to Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind Conference, 17 April 1949. From *Hindusthan Standard* and *The Hindustan Times*, 18 April 1949, N.M.M.L.

Nevertheless, we have to remember, that forces of disruption in the world and in India are also strong and we have to be vigilant. We have to appeal to men's minds so that they might not be influenced wrongly or feel frustrated. There is nothing to be frustrated about. We live during an epoch-making era in the world and all of us, in greater or lesser degree, are making history.

India belongs to each one of its citizens to whatever faith he may adhere to and each one has rights and obligations attaching to the citizenship. The Muslims in India have passed through difficult times in the course of the last year and a half and more because of the division of India and what preceded it. Terrible consequences followed. The non-Muslims in Pakistan had to face great trials and tribulation.

Muslims in India had also to face trials and the greatest of these was a disturbance of the spirit and a sense of frustration. I am glad to find that this is gradually fading away and men's minds are recovering their normal poise. We have all been through strange and terrible experiences and we have to learn from them so that we might return fully to the right path which Gandhiji showed us.

One of the lessons we have learnt is not to tolerate communalism in any shape or form. I am glad to learn that the Jamiat has decided to become a purely cultural organization.² That is right. In politics we must not function in future as Hindus, Muslims, or Sikhs but as Indians.

2. On 18 April at Lucknow the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind was declared a non-political body which would henceforth concentrate on the religious and cultural uplift of the Muslim masses, since its political goals had been fulfilled with the achievement of freedom.

NATION-BUILDING

II. Economic Policy

1. Secretariat of the Cabinet Economic Committee¹

I have received a note about the formation of a Secretariat of the Economic Committee² of the Cabinet. It is suggested in this note that the Secretariat of the Committee may be attached to the Finance Ministry. A certain staff is provided for and the functions of the Secretariat are defined.

2. The Economic Committee being an offshoot of the Cabinet Secretariat will be intimately connected with the Cabinet. It is not clear what the relations of the new Secretariat will be with the Cabinet Secretariat. Then there is the Economic Unit of the Cabinet under Dr. Gyan Chand and the Statistical Unit under Prof. Mahalanobis. All these are supposed to be parts of the Cabinet Secretariat although we have not exactly defined their relationship yet. The formation of a new Secretariat for the Economic Committee might add to the confusion and overlapping and there might even be a danger of lack of coordination of these various activities which are so nearly allied to each other. This will also mean a certain duplication of staff.

3. I should like the Economic Committee to consider this matter in this light to avoid the risks I have pointed out above. There is one other matter to be considered and that is the beginning of planning. Obviously the Economic Committee will have something to do with this. Equally obviously the Economic Unit of the Cabinet is concerned with it.

4. I should have imagined that all these various activities should be closely coordinated and should be definitely parts or extensions of the Cabinet Secretariat. The Economic Committee should deal with the Secretariat and for this purpose additions should be made to the Cabinet Secretariat or a wing might be added to it to deal especially with economic matters. This can be easily worked out and should prove not only more efficient in working but more economical. At the same time this can lead to general planning.

5. At the present moment the Economic Committee of the Cabinet is functioning rather on its own and even I do not know much about what it is doing. The organization of a separate Secretariat for it attached to the Finance Ministry would lead to a still further isolation.

6. I suggest these matters for the consideration of the Economic Committee. Perhaps the whole Cabinet might consider them also.

1. Note to the Cabinet members and members of the Economic Committee, 17 February 1949. File No. 37(38)/49-PMS.
2. The Committee was set up on 18 February 1949 with John Matthai as chairman and K.C. Neogy, S.P. Mookerjee, Gopalaswami Ayyangar, Jairamdas Doulatram and Jagjivan Ram as members. Its main object was to deal with demands made by various ministries for foreign exchange.

2. To John Matthai¹

New Delhi
Februáry 18, 1949

My dear Matthai,

Thank you for your letter of February 18th² about the Secretariat of the Economic Committee of the Cabinet. I think you have misunderstood what I wrote.³ Of course you talked to me about this and I agreed with you about the Economic Committee having some kind of a Secretariat. I did not realize then that this was something entirely apart from the Cabinet Secretariat.

It was not my intention that Gyan Chand should work as the Secretary of the Economic Committee. Nor did I suggest that Gyan Chand's Economic Coordination Unit should look after the work of the Secretariat of the Economic Committee. What I felt was that the new Secretariat should function as part of the larger Cabinet Secretariat, so that the work of the Cabinet Secretariat should not become diffused and should remain coordinated. Of course that work would be done directly under you. Indeed all the economic or planning work of the Cabinet Secretariat in its various departments should be directly under you. You could appoint any one you like and as many people as you think necessary for this work, who will remain in direct touch with you. I do feel that there is likely to be a lack of coordination if the Cabinet Secretariat (not Gyan Chand's Coordinating Unit) is not intimately connected with the work of the Committees of the Cabinet. That was the old practice when we first came into the Government and had struck me as a good practice which kept things moving and helped in bringing about coordination and co-operation.

The Cabinet Secretariat, as it is, has not got too much work to do and it will lose all importance if the most vital activities of committees of the Cabinet are outside its purview. As Finance Minister you should be in charge of all the economic activities of the Cabinet or of the Cabinet Secretariat. The only question is how to fit each thing into the other so as to bring about the greatest measure of efficiency and coordination. Perhaps we might discuss this matter when we meet.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 37(38)/49-PMS.
2. John Matthai wrote that the Secretariat of the Economic Committee of the Cabinet "should be attached to my (Finance) Ministry as long as I am Chairman of the Economic Committee and the work of the Cabinet Secretariat should be confined to the coordination of economic data." He "strongly objected" to any proposal to have Gyan Chand's Economic Unit in the Secretariat of the Economic Committee.
3. See preceding item.

3. To John Matthai¹

New Delhi
March 7, 1949

My dear Matthai,

Your letter of March 4th about the Secretariat of the Economic Committee. It would be desirable for the Cabinet to discuss this matter. But before it does so, perhaps it would be better for me to meet the Economic Committee and have a talk on this subject.

Two days ago there was a meeting of the A.I.C.C. and they passed a resolution asking for the very early appointment of a Planning Commission.² I have told them that we were ourselves anxious to do something in this matter, but we were proceeding step by step. In any event we could not give much thought to it till this Budget Session was over.

I think we shall have to consider fully how to coordinate the activities of various organs that we have put up, so that they might lead to the formation of the Planning Commission.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 37(38)/49-PMS.
2. The Standing Economic Committee of the A.I.C.C. meeting at New Delhi on 5 and 6 March 1949, passed a resolution to appoint a Planning Commission with Jawaharlal Nehru as the President and K.T. Shah, J.C. Ghosh, Ambalal Sarabhai and the Minister for Industry and Supply as members. The Committee was "to keep up to date the material collected and published, and to draw up a scheme for the purpose."

4. To John Matthai¹

New Delhi
March 7, 1949

My dear Matthai,

Regarding the draft of a statement about the participation of foreign capital,² I should like to make certain verbal alterations. But I think that you might as well have it circulated to the Cabinet, so that all our colleagues might have time to consider it carefully. In fact I would suggest that you might circulate it to them with a brief note inviting comments. Having received these comments we can then consider the whole thing afresh in Cabinet.

1. File No. 44(8)/48-PMS.
2. See *post*, statement in Parliament, 5 April 1949.

I am leaving Delhi for four days on the 9th morning.³ I hope to be back on the 13th afternoon. After that we shall have the Cabinet meeting.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Nehru went on a visit to Orissa and Hyderabad during this period.

5. To Chandulal Trivedi¹

New Delhi
March 7, 1949

My dear Trivedi,

Thank you for your letter and the note on our conversation of today.² This note contains a correct report. I am sending it on to Dr. Matthai and asking him to forward it to you with any comments that he might wish to make.

Briefly put the position is this: We are anxious that the East Punjab Government should go ahead with its scheme for a capital. We are prepared to help it to the best of our ability, but the time and extent of this help cannot be stated now. It is clear that we cannot give any substantial amount at present. Possibly six months later if the situation is better, as we hope, we might be able to advance a loan. In any event I do not understand why the East Punjab Government should delay matters. In fact I am beginning to be a little doubtful about their eagerness to have a new capital. People who are keen and eager do not wait helplessly on others. Long before any large sums are needed, much can be done which does not involve great expense. But thus far nothing has been done and in fact an absolutely final decision about the site even has not been reached.

I would like to add that you must not expect us to help in the building of palatial structures. I do not know what ideas the East Punjab Government have on the subject of planning. I have repeatedly recommended to them to take the advice of Dr. Koenigsberger, who planned Bhubaneshwar, the Orissa capital and planned it well.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 7(27)/47-PMS.

2. The letter, the note, and the conversation were on arranging funds for construction of the Punjab capital at Chandigarh.

6. Cost of Delegations Abroad¹

May I draw your attention to a matter which has been worrying me for some time. We have a vast number of international conferences held in various parts of the world. As an independent country with widespread and growing interests, we naturally wish to take part in these conferences. Also for other purposes we have to send delegations abroad frequently.

All this is perhaps inevitable, even though it is a very costly business, much more costly, than adding to our officer personnel in India. There is a great deal of talk of economy and of reduction of our officer personnel. And yet the cost incurred in delegations abroad is a very big item in our expenditure.

I have no desire to stop any delegation going which is considered essential. But I have a definite feeling that it is easily possible to make simpler and cheaper arrangements for our representation at international conferences or for other purposes abroad. We have got a fairly large number of embassies, legations and trade agencies abroad. Normally it should be easy to find some suitable person or persons serving in these embassies, legations or trade agencies to represent us at international conferences or for any other specific purposes. This would mean a considerable saving in money, more especially in dollars. We might even desist from taking part in particular conferences which are not of high importance. Some one from our foreign establishments might be asked to attend it on our behalf.

This argument also applies to ad hoc missions sent abroad for particular purposes. Much of their work can be done by people who are already abroad. Or at the most one person can be sent and he should be helped by those who are already on the spot. Even when delegations are sent from here, they might be limited in numbers. I feel that sufficient attention is not given to this matter and hence I am drawing your attention to it. I hope that you will instruct your Ministries accordingly.

1. Note to all Ministers, 15 March 1949. File No. CA/105/Est/49, Ministry of Law.

7. To Jagjivan Ram¹

New Delhi
March 25, 1949

My dear Jagjivan Ram,

Thank you for your letter of the 23rd March. I appreciate what you write.²

1. 15(45)/49-PMS.
2. Jagjivan Ram wanted labour attachés to be appointed in Indian Embassies.

I would gladly agree to labour officers being attached to our Embassies. But in view of financial difficulties, we have necessarily to go slow. Also I rather doubt if we have got enough suitable personnel for this purpose at present. We have had to cut down many of our attachés because of pressure from Finance. If, however, there are any special places to which you wish to send labour officers and have suitable men, you can certainly discuss it with the External Affairs Ministry.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. To B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya¹

New Delhi
March 29, 1949

My dear Rashtrapati,

I enclose a report of the proceedings of the final meeting of the National Planning Committee on the 26th March 1949 in New Delhi.

The National Planning Committee² was constituted by the then President of the Congress, Shri Subhas Chandra Bose, towards the end of 1938. It had a chequered career owing to the war and the arrest of many of its members.³ Unfortunately, it could not complete its labours in the manner intended. Nevertheless, it persisted in spite of all kinds of difficulties and collected and produced a considerable amount of worthwhile material for planning. This consists of 26 volumes containing the sub-committees' reports and a volume containing the report of the National Planning Committee itself. This report of the N.P.C. is a factual account of what it has done. We have not at this stage considered it necessary or desirable to collate all this vast material or to pronounce judgement on the many recommendations made. That is a matter now for the National Government to take up.

The National Planning Committee felt that it had completed its labours and there was, therefore, no reason for it to continue to exist as such Committee. By a resolution, therefore, it decided to dissolve itself after the presentation of its report

1. Purshottamdas Thakurdas Papers. File No. 223/1938-49. N.M.M.L.
2. The National Planning Committee was constituted in October 1938 with Jawaharlal Nehru as Chairman, and M. Visvesvaraya, Meghnad Saha, Purshottamdas Thakurdas, V.S. Dubey, A.K. Shaha, Ambalal Sarabhai, Nazir Ahmed, A.D. Shroff, K.T. Shah and J.C. Ghosh as members. The Planning Committee had its first meeting on 17 December 1938 at Bombay.
3. The political developments leading to the 'Quit India' movement in 1942 greatly impeded the work of the Planning Committee, which virtually stopped functioning when most of the Congress leaders including Jawaharlal Nehru, then Chairman, were imprisoned.

to the President of the Indian National Congress, who had appointed the Committee in the first instance. The Committee, therefore, stands dissolved now.

But it has left a child behind to continue in some part the work of the N.P.C.⁴ I would draw your attention to Resolution 6, passed at the last meeting of the N.P.C.⁵ This appoints a Committee consisting of six members, including the President of the National Congress, to draw up a scheme for the continuation of the work of publication of reports and statistical data.

As Chairman of the Committee, I am sending you these papers containing the last stage of the Committee's work. All the reports of the Sub-Committees as well as the report of the N.P.C. itself have, I understand, been sent to you by the Honorary Secretary, Prof. K.T. Shah. I shall gladly send you any further copies if they are needed.

I shall be grateful to you if you will place these papers and reports before the Working Committee for their information. I shall also appreciate your informing me of your acceptance of the membership of the Committee referred to in Resolution 6.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. The N.P.C., which was dissolved finally on 26 March 1949, recommended that a committee be appointed consisting of the President of the Congress, the Prime Minister, the Minister of Industry and Supply, K.T. Shah, J.C. Ghosh and Ambalal Sarabhai, to carry on the work in connection with the series.
5. By resolution 6, "the publication of various reports should be continued wherever found necessary and that additional volumes might be prepared to bring the material up to date from time to time."

9. To N.V. Gadgil¹

New Delhi
30 March 1949

My dear Gadgil,

... The right thing, of course, is for some general policy to be fully discussed and laid down. The budget proposals will naturally have to fit in with this policy. It is difficult to discuss budget proposals as such. I hope that in course of the

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

next few months, in connection with planning and otherwise, we shall come to closer grips with our general economic and planning policy, and possibly in regard to the Planning Commission.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

10. Expenditure on Foreign Appointments¹

As suggested in the Cabinet, various Standing Committees are considering the report of the Economy Committee in relation to the Ministry concerned. The Standing Committee for External Affairs has met once for this purpose and has considered the main proposals and recommendations of the Economy Committee.²

2. These proposals and recommendations include suggestions for the reduction of staff. So far as the junior staff is concerned, it is difficult for me or even for the Standing Committee to come to any clear conclusions without going very deeply into the working of each department and each officer. The Standing Committee has appointed a sub-committee to consider the question of reduction of staff. Presumably that sub-committee would present some kind of a report soon and this will be forwarded to the Finance Ministry.

3. In regard to the main proposals, and what might be considered the general outlook and approach of the question, the Standing Committee has already given its opinion which is being separately sent to the Finance Ministry. Generally speaking, the Standing Committee has approved of the Ministry's conclusions and recommendations.

4. I am writing this note on this general approach and the work of the External Affairs Ministry. Reading the Economy Committee's report on this subject, I have felt that their approach does not take into full consideration as to what the work of a Foreign Office is. They look upon it as if it was some kind of a business firm with branches in various countries. That, of course, can hardly be coordinated with

1. Note on the report of the Economy Committee on the Ministry of External Affairs, submitted to all the Cabinet Ministers, 31 March 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. In 1949, India was facing considerable difficulty on the economic front due to post-war price inflation accompanied by wage increase, depletion of foreign exchange resources, hampered industrial production, and stoppage of trade with Pakistan. To deal with the crisis, the Economy Committee of the Cabinet recommended various reductions in Governmental expenditure at home and abroad.

international relations and the type of problems the Foreign Office has to deal with. It is because of this somewhat wrong approach that some of the Economy Committee's recommendations are unreal.

5. The Economy Committee express their amazement at the speed at which Missions have been established in foreign countries during the past year. It is possible that we might have delayed the establishment of one or two particular Missions. In fact we have tried to delay and have normally only established a Mission when there was considerable pressure on us to do so. When a country offers to exchange diplomatic Missions with us, we cannot easily say no without impairing our relations with that country. All we can do is to point out, as we have often done, that there may be delay in our sending our representative. The first step, therefore, is an agreement to exchange diplomatic Missions and this cannot be avoided, if the other party takes the initiative. The next step usually is that the other party sends their representative who establishes himself in New Delhi, while we do not take any step in the matter. We have today some diplomatic representatives here who have been in Delhi for a year or so, while we have not sent anyone to their countries.

6. The fact of the matter is that India cannot escape from the position she is in and has necessarily to shoulder the obligations of that position. There is no half-way house. Apart from this, our own interests demand these direct contacts with other countries. These interests are of a varied nature. We are particularly concerned with the countries of South East Asia and the Middle East Asia and the Middle East. We must therefore have our representatives in each one of these countries. We have already got them in most of them. A few remain, such as Iraq and the Philippines.

7. In Europe we shall probably take no further step for the present, although several countries in Eastern Europe are anxious to exchange representatives with us. Latin America is a vast and increasingly important field. We are under-represented there and it may be necessary to send someone to Mexico.

8. The Economy Committee seem to think that we can have some kind of a central representative who can deal with a number of surrounding countries. We have tried to do this, but normally we have not succeeded. Most countries object to being treated as second-rate countries.

9. The Economy Committee has in some matters, I think, gone beyond its functions. It recommends that external publicity should be transferred to the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. Members of the Cabinet will remember that the Cabinet took a decision in this matter after long debate and external publicity was placed with External Affairs, as is usually the case in most countries. This was a question of policy and has nothing to do with the Economy Committee's views. Our Standing Committee considered this matter and was firmly of opinion that the present arrangement should continue. I entirely agree with this.

10. The Economy Committee refers to publicity officers and the like. We are trying to reduce their number, but, it must be remembered that any effective publicity requires an organization and trained men. There is continuous demand for proper publicity. My own feeling is that our foreign Missions have, on the whole, been doing good work in regard to publicity. But the field is a big one and the type of publicity that is required is not of the routine type but specially means personal contacts with the press and important people at the other end. The Economy Committee appears to think that the easiest way of carrying on publicity is to deal in a friendly way with the foreign correspondents in Delhi. While undoubtedly this should be done, this has little to do with foreign office publicity. Our publicity is not like that of a business firm trying to sell its wares, but gradually to make governments and peoples think in a friendly way about India and appreciate our viewpoint. Indeed the time has come when we are constantly in touch with them about broad policies to be pursued in regard to international matters and India's voice is listened to with respect.

11. Cultural Attachés may be dispensed with for the present. In fact there are only three functioning and one of them is doing very important work in some other fields. Our Standing Committee felt that we must have Cultural Attachés at least in the West Indies and in Paris, which continues to be the centre of Western culture.

12. A somewhat remarkable recommendation of the Economy Committee relates to the use of alcoholic liquor in our establishments abroad. It is not clear to me how this was part of their function. Probably thinking in terms of a business deal, helped by the use of intoxicating drinks, they suggested that we should permit the use of alcoholic drinks at our public functions abroad. This would not only be opposed to our general domestic policy, but I feel, would be undesirable for other reasons also. I do not believe that our position abroad is going to depend on alcoholic drinks being supplied to others. We have adopted a distinctive role and we should continue to maintain it. The present position should therefore continue. I might add that this does not necessarily mean a reduction in expenditure, as other drinks, chiefly fruit juice have to be supplied and these are fairly expensive.

13. In regard to expenditure abroad, it is quite possible that we can economize in some directions. But generally speaking, our representatives abroad are hard put to it to make both ends meet because of the high prices and high cost of living. In fact many of them wish to come back because of this. It might be kept in mind that our expenditure is far less than that of other foreign offices and the personnel of our establishments is very small, compared to others.

14. The establishment of Embassies and Legations abroad should lead to a reduction in expenditure in the sending of *ad hoc* Missions for international conferences. Normally speaking, we can choose our representatives for these conferences from these Embassies and Legations, as is usually done by other countries. The sending of these *ad hoc* Missions from India has become a very heavy item of expenditure and this can be curtailed in this way to some extent.

15. The Economy Committee have recommended the abolition of the post of the Secretary-General as well as that of an Additional Secretary. I entirely disagree with these proposals. I do not come in direct contact with the work of the junior officers in the Foreign Office. But I do come in direct contact with the Secretary-General, the Foreign Secretary and the Additional Secretary. There are all over-worked and have to shoulder heavy responsibilities. I doubt if in the future we can do away with any one of these posts. Indeed it is likely that as our responsibilities grow, we might have to add to it. In the present I am sure that work would suffer, if any of these senior officers was removed and that work was handed to a more junior officer.

16. I should like to say that these senior officers have done their work with efficiency and great credit. The work of a Foreign Office requires at every stage very careful judgement and it is not possible to leave any important decision to a junior officer. Even drafting work is highly important in dealing with other countries.

17. Apart from the growing volume of what might be called normal work, we have had to deal with difficult and intricate problems of extraordinary nature, such as Pakistan, Kashmir, Indonesia, and India and the Commonwealth. In all these problems the assistance of the present Secretary-General has been of the greatest value and I do not quite know how I could have carried on without his help. All these problems continue and more are being added to them.

18. There has been sometimes a criticism of individual officers in the Foreign Office or the Foreign Service. I must confess that this distressed me greatly. Criticism is welcome, but sometimes it takes the shape of some kind of a personal vendetta. There are all kinds of people in a large service, but I think it may be said that our Foreign Service, new as it is, has set a fairly high standard and compares well with any other foreign service in the world. I believe this is generally recognized in other countries and our representatives are not only respected, but their advice is sought. Some time back Dr. Syud Hossain, our then Ambassador in Cairo, was repeatedly criticized in an unseemly manner in some newspapers in India. It was difficult for us to reply to these criticisms. Yet the fact was, and this is widely recognized today, that he did an extraordinary piece of work in Cairo and the Middle East. His death has been a very serious loss to us.

11. Programme of the Economic Committee¹

Shri S. Nagappa wanted to know how far had the Government of India implemented the recommendations of the Economic Programme Committee of which the Prime Minister of India is the Chairman.

1. 5 April 1949, *Constituent Assembly of India (Legislative) Debates, Official Report*, Vol. III, Part I, 18th March-17th April 1949, p. 2164.

Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) There is no Economic Programme Committee of which the Prime Minister is Chairman. Presumably the honourable member is referring to the National Planning Committee which was set up some ten years ago by the President of the National Congress and of which the Prime Minister was Chairman. This Committee has made various recommendations from time to time during these years. It could not finalize its work. It has, however, recently published a large number of volumes containing the reports of its Sub-Committees.

(b) Government have noted the suggestions made from time to time and will take into consideration the recommendations whenever the question of overall planning is considered.

12. Cable to John Matthai¹

Stafford Cripps handed to me today long memorandum on Rate of Expenditures of India's Sterling Balances² in which it is pointed out that India is spending her sterling balances too quickly involving grave risk to economy of both India and U.K. as well as other adverse consequences which might arise from sudden shortage of currently available sterling. This question has become an urgent one and Cripps suggests very early discussions on official level in London to consider it. For this purpose he would like senior official from India to come here as soon as possible in week or ten days.

If you agree you might send K.R.K. Menon³ and B.K. Nehru. Menon's presence here also useful for other India House matters which our High Commissioner has already mentioned to him.

Summary of Cripps memorandum being sent to you in immediately following telegram.

1. London, 24 April 1949. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. The memorandum from the British Chancellor of the Exchequer to Nehru expressed British Government's "deep concern felt at the very heavy rate at which India was drawing on her free Sterling Balances." It was stated that "India had already drawn not only £80 million Sterling free balance brought forward from 1947-48 available up to June 1949 under the agreement concluded last year, but had considerably drawn on the £40 million allotted for 1949-50."
3. K.R.K. Menon (b. 1901); joined I.C.S. 1926; Member, Central Board of Revenue, 1946-47; Finance Secretary, 1948-54; Chairman, Taxation Commission of Sri Lanka under Colombo Plan, 1955; Chairman, Industrial Finance Corporation of India, 1955-1961.

NATION-BUILDING
III. Industrial Growth

1. The Need for a Silk Research Organization¹

It appears desirable that a research association or institute² for silk and artificial silk should be started. I do not exactly know what are the model memorandum and articles of association drawn up by the C.S.I.R. Who controls this association or institute on the basis of that model?

What is the minimum sum required for an effective association of this kind? If 15 lakhs are contributed by the industry, how much would Government have to give? Suppose the Government gives 5 lakhs, would a total sum of 20 lakhs be sufficient? Does this sum become a kind of capital which is kept apart or part of it is kept apart as capital?

Apart from the Government contributing a substantial sum as you suggest, there is an additional proviso that contributions by the industry should be treated as sums to be deducted from income-tax assessments. That of course means that Government is contributing a good part of this 15 lakhs in another shape, possibly 2/3rd or 3/4th of it or even more. So the donation of 15 lakhs is not quite so generous as it appears on the surface.

Who will form the association which, you say, will be an autonomous body under the administrative control of the Department of Scientific Research? All these matters have to be considered and it will be desirable for the Finance Ministry to be consulted informally before any formal step is taken. I do not see why we should be rushed into a decision because the representatives of the Silk and Art Silk Mills Association are going away somewhere on the 1st March.

You may ask them to send a cheque for 15 lakhs subject to our considering this problem in all its aspects and getting the sanction of the Finance Ministry to the proposals made, which involve not only a grant but a substantial reduction of the income-tax due. This sum can be held in credit on their behalf till the matter is settled. Meanwhile you should discuss this matter with the Finance Ministry.

1. Note to S.S. Bhatnagar, 24 February 1949. File No. 17(75)/48-PMS.
2. The Central Silk Board was established in 1949 for development of silk and sericulture industry and for coordinating research. The Silk and Art Silk Mills Research Organization, set up at Bombay in 1950, is one of the six associations conducting research in fibre technology.

2. To Syama Prasad Mookerjee¹

New Delhi
February 24, 1949

My dear Syama Prasad,
Your letter of the 24th.

The Defence Ministry is sending a Mission not only to Switzerland but to various countries for various purposes.² Among these purposes is the business of setting up a special factory for tools and machines required for defence purposes. The point you raise was considered at that time and we said that such a factory should be on a larger scale and not confined to defence purposes. Thereupon the decision you refer to was arrived at. I do not wish to come in the way of the Defence Ministry in this rather urgent matter for them. I suggest that you consult them and find out exactly what they are doing. Your Ministry and the Defence Ministry will then know each other's minds and will be in a position to coordinate their activities. If necessary we can all meet together to consider it. I am prepared to place the matter before the Cabinet, though I hardly think that is necessary at this stage. The Defence Ministry have gone rather far in arranging about their Mission and it will be difficult to upset that. I am writing to Defence Ministry to get in touch with you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. In April 1949 an Indian Military Mission led by Major General Kalwant Singh visited Switzerland, Britain, Canada and the U.S.A. with a view to buying equipment to set up defence factories in India, to obtain foreign advisers and technicians for Indian National Academy and Air and Naval centres, and to secure admission for Indian officers in military and naval institutions abroad.

3. To S.S. Sokhey¹

New Delhi
March 16, 1949

My dear Sokhey,

Your letter of March 14th². I have not heard from Choksi³ yet, but I shall see him if he is here. I am writing to Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee on the subject and

1. File No. 17(116)/48-PMS.

2. Sokhey complained of the slow processing by the Ministry of Industry and Supply, of the Swedish offer for setting up a penicillin project in India. He also disliked the suggestion to appoint two managing directors, preferring one managing director with all administrative and technical powers and a board of directors under him.

3. Jehangir Dossabhoy Choksi (1900-1984); legal adviser to Tata Group Companies, 1938-45; Director, Tata & Sons, 1945; Vice-Chairman, Tata Industries and Tata Group, 1962-67.

asking him to expedite it. I think also that two men as Directors would be undesirable. We shall try to keep Choksi in the picture here and I shall discuss the matter with Dr. Matthai if necessity arises.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Statement on Foreign Investments¹

By your leave, Sir, I would like to make a statement to the House. Some days ago my honourable colleague, the Minister for Industry and Supply, introduced a Bill before the House to provide for the development, regulation and control of certain industries. Sometime later today, I understand that he is going to make a motion to refer the Bill to a Select Committee.²

Honourable Members will have noticed that no specific provision relating to participation of foreign capital in industries has been made in this Bill. We had thought at first that it would be necessary to make some specific provision, but we find on further examination that such regulation as is necessary can be secured through existing laws. The policy as regards participation of foreign capital has already been announced in broad terms in Government's resolution of the 6th April 1948.³ The stress on the need to regulate, in the national interest, the scope and manner of foreign capital arose from past association of foreign capital and control with foreign domination of the economy of the country. But circumstances today are quite different. The object of our regulation should, therefore, be the utilization of foreign capital in a manner most advantageous to the country. Indian capital needs to be supplemented by foreign capital not only because our national savings

1. New Delhi, 6 April 1949. *Constituent Assembly of India (Legislative) Debates, Official Report*, Vol. IV, Part II, 6th-9th April 1949, pp. 2385-2386.
2. The bill had been introduced on 23 March by S.P. Mookerjee to implement the industrial policy announced by the Government in April 1948.
3. The resolution on industrial policy of the Government in regard to foreign capital stated that as a rule the major interest in ownership and effective control would always be in Indian hands and power will be taken to deal with exceptional cases. In all cases, however, the training of suitable Indian personnel for purposes of eventually replacing foreign experts would be insisted upon. Tariff policy of Government would be designed to prevent unfair foreign competition.

will not be enough for the rapid development of the country on the scale we wish, but also because in many cases scientific, technical and industrial knowledge and capital equipment can best be secured along with foreign capital.

In this context, foreign investors would no doubt wish to have some clear indication of our policy on certain matters, like the repatriation of capital, the remittance of profits, and the treatment of foreign enterprise vis-a-vis Indian enterprise. We propose to make the policy of Government quite clear in this matter.

In the first place, I would like to state that Government would expect all undertakings, Indian or foreign, to conform to the general requirements of their industrial policy. As regards existing foreign interests, Government do not intend to place any restrictions or impose any conditions which are not applicable to similar Indian enterprise. Government would also frame their policy as to enable further foreign capital to be invested in India on terms and conditions that are mutually advantageous.

Secondly, foreign interests would be permitted to earn profits, subject only to regulations common to all. We do not foresee any difficulty in continuing the existing facilities for remittance of profits, and Government have no intention to place any restriction on withdrawal of foreign capital investments, but remittance facilities would naturally depend on foreign exchange considerations. If, however, any foreign concern comes to be compulsorily acquired, Government would provide reasonable facilities for the remittance of proceeds.

Thirdly, if and when foreign enterprises are compulsorily acquired, compensation will be paid on a fair and equitable basis as already announced in Government's statement of policy.

Government have stated before that, as a rule, the major interest in ownership and effective control of an undertaking should be in Indian hands. They have also stated that power will be taken to deal with exceptional cases in a manner calculated to serve the national interest. Obviously there can be no hard and fast rule in this matter. Government will not object to foreign capital having control of a concern for a limited period, if it is found to be in the national interest and each individual case will be dealt with on its merits. In the matter of employment of personnel, Government would not object to the employment of non-Indians in posts requiring technical skill and experience when Indians of requisite qualifications are not available, but they attach vital importance to the training and employment of Indians even for such posts in the quickest possible manner.

I should like to add a few words about British interests in India which naturally form the largest part of foreign investments in India. Although it is the policy of the Government of India to encourage the growth of Indian industry and commerce (including such services like banking, shipping and insurance) to the best of their ability, there is and will still be considerable scope for the investment of British capital in India. These considerations will apply equally to other existing

non-Indian interests. The Government of India have no desire to injure in any way British or other non-Indian interests in India and would gladly welcome their contribution in a constructive and cooperative role in the development of India's economy.

5. To Syama Prasad Mookerjee¹

New Delhi
April 12, 1949

My dear Syama Prasad,

I should just like to have some idea of what the Cottage Industries Board² is doing. Do not trouble to send me a full report. Is the Board striking out new lines or just working along the old ruts. I understand that you are sending somebody to Japan.³ That is a good idea. I think you can get many new suggestions from people even in Delhi. There is a shop in Connaught Circus, Guptajee, the proprietor of which is rather good at cottage industries and has built his own business out of next to nothing. I think he might be able to give suggestions.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17(139)/56-PMS.
2. Set up by the Government of India in 1948 with 48 members, the Board was expected to advise the Government on the development of cottage industries and their coordination with large scale industries, to examine the schemes of State Governments for the promotion of cottage industries and to advise the Government on the marketing of products in India and abroad.
3. The Ministry of Industry proposed to send N.C. Srivastava, Deputy Secretary in the Rehabilitation Ministry, and Chaman Lal, member of the Cottage Industries Board, to Japan to study the working of the cottage industries and to enlist the services of Japanese technicians and teachers.

NATION-BUILDING
IV. Self-Sufficiency in Food

1. To Chandulal Trivedi¹

New Delhi
March 3, 1949

My dear Trivedi,

Your letter of the 2nd March.² I am sorry you feel that the Centre is encroaching on your preserves. We do not wish to deprive you of any officer whom you specially need. It is only when you agree that we take him away. Our need also is often rather urgent.

In this connection I might mention that I have been thinking of asking you to release Tarlok Singh for the Centre. I should have liked to have him for some special work in regard the Grow-More-Food campaign. Some months back he casually suggested that he would like to come to the Centre. I took no action about it then.

As you know, the food campaign is of vital importance and I have been thinking hard of how to push it hard. I thought Tarlok Singh would be useful in that connection. The other day I saw him here in Delhi and mentioned this matter to him. He said that he would very much like to come and work with me, but he was up to his eyes in giving some permanent habitat to the agriculturists in East Punjab. It would be improper for him to leave this important work. He hoped however to finish it by the end of May and then, so far as he was concerned, he would be free to come. I agreed with him that he should not leave his present work, till he had finished it.

I was thinking of writing to you and Dr. Gopichand about Tarlok Singh. But as the question of his coming here was postponed, I did not do so. I am now mentioning it for you to consider and keep in mind.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Trivedi complained about transferring Tarlok Singh to the Centre when he still required his services in the East Punjab.

2. To Jairamdas Doulatram¹

New Delhi
March 7, 1949

My dear Jairamdas,

I am sorry for the delay in answering your letter of the 4th March² with which you sent me a note³ on the formation of a Subsidiary Foods Development Board. I should have liked to discuss this matter with you, but I shall have no time to do so before I leave on the 9th morning and shall not be returning till the 13th afternoon.

I am personally agreeable to the appointment of such a Board and I think it should have full powers to go ahead. I take it that the Secretary of the Board will not necessarily be a person of a Government of India Secretary's status. I do not see why we should have additional secretaries of that status.

I was informed by Shri Ram that it was your intention to request Rajendra Babu to be the Chairman of the Board. If he agrees, I imagine he will be an honorary Chairman. He is likely to be very busy till the end of April with the Gandhi Memorial Fund collections⁴ and after that he will be busy with the Constituent Assembly. So I rather doubt if he will be in a position to take up this work.

Another name that Shri Ram suggested to me was Gorwala.⁵ I do not know him personally, but I am told he is an able man with a certain drive. He is supposed to be rather a difficult man to get on with. Still this particular work may perhaps suit him.

1. File No. 31(43)/49-PMS.

2. Informing Nehru that the resolution for the appointment of a Subsidiary Foods Development Board had been discussed between the Ministries of Finance and Food and Agriculture. Jairamdas Doulatram had enquired whether the resolution should be placed before the Cabinet first or sent to the Provinces and States to get their reactions.

3. The note proposed to establish a high-powered Board with full financial and executive authority, which would concentrate on special types of high-yielding crops and see that "additional acreage is put under such crops." It would also use the executive agencies of the Provinces and States to purchase additional produce at guaranteed prices in consultation with the provincial governments and process it into forms suitable for consumption as food.

4. Rajendra Prasad, the Chairman of the Mahatma Gandhi National Memorial Fund, was busy negotiating and receiving donations from companies and institutions after a bill passed on 31 October enabling them to subscribe to the Gandhi Memorial Fund.

5. A.D. Gorwala (1900-1989); joined I.C.S. 1924; served in Sind, Bombay; Secretary, Department of Civil Supply and Commerce, Government of India, 1944-47; prepared reports for Government on various subjects; founder-editor of the weekly *Opinion*.

I think you might send your draft to the provinces for their comments even before you put it up before the Cabinet. I do not want to delay matters and a Cabinet meeting will not be held for another few days. But before you send it out to the provinces, you might consult Sardar Patel and Dr. Matthai. If they agree, the note can be issued to the provinces.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To Norris E. Dodd¹

New Delhi
March 7, 1949

Dear Mr. Dodd,²

Thank you very much for letter of the 25th February.³ It was a great pleasure for me to meet you and your colleagues and to find out how interested you were in the vital problems of our food and agriculture.⁴ I am sure that your visit to India has done us a lot of good and I hope that you will come back, as you suggest, for a longer period to continue your investigations. I shall certainly look forward to meeting you then.

I am quite convinced of the high priority we should give to this problem of food and agriculture. I feel that we must aim at producing enough food in the next two years to cover the deficit. I am most confident of our ability to do so. With your advice and help I am sure that we shall make rapid progress.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 42(11)/48-PMS.
2. Norris Edward Dodd (1879-1968); Under Secretary, United States Department of Agriculture, 1946-48; Director General, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 1948-54; Chairman of the U.S. Delegation to International Wheat Council, 1948.
3. Norris Dodd had expressed his appreciation of the Government's efforts to deal with the food problem.
4. Norris Dodd had visited India from 16 to 24 February, in course of a world tour, investigating food problems in member-countries of F.A.O. and offering suggestions to solve the problem.

4. To Jairamdas Doulatram¹

New Delhi
March 8, 1949

My dear Jairamdas,

Thank you for your letter of the 8th March.² I am very glad you are going ahead with a plan for meeting the food deficit within two years. I think this is essential and we must understand equally definitely that our deficit has to be wiped off within two years. This is going to be made first priority and we expect and demand every cooperation from the Provincial Governments in regard to it.

In making out this plan, I think you should proceed with a plan for every six months so that we can check it periodically and so that the deficit is progressively lessened.

I think you might prepare a brief note about this matter and about the other steps that you are taking for the information of the Cabinet and send it to the next meeting of the Cabinet for their information.

I am mentioning this food matter in my fortnightly letter to the Premiers also.³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 31(46)/49-PMS.
2. Outlining several steps to intensify food production, Jairamdas Doulatram indicated that he was arranging import of machinery for improved yields, development of sweet potatoes as a substitute for flour, diversion of a small portion of money crop areas to food crops, reclamation of land, import of more fertilizers and sinking of tubewells.
3. See section Letters to Premiers of Provinces, 9 March 1949, para 7.

5. To B. Shiva Rao¹

New Delhi
March 19, 1949

My dear Shiva Rao,

Your letter of the 19th March communicating to me a message from Dr. Weizmann.²

1. F. No. 31(45)/49-PMS.
2. Shiva Rao wrote that President Weizmann of Israel on 4 March had offered to despatch two experts on agricultural problems to India and invited a group of chemists and engineers from India to discuss the production of power alcohol and vitamin preparations from molasses. Weizmann had also offered to Indian scholars a number of research fellowships in natural and technical sciences.

I am sending on your letter to the Food Minister. My own reactions are that we should welcome one or two experts on agricultural problems from Palestine. Agricultural problems, however, are of many kinds. We should try to pick out the particular type we require and ask experts to suit these particular problems. The Food Ministry might suggest as to what particular kind we want at present. My own impression is that we should have someone to help us in our campaign for intensive growth from the cultivable land already in use.

As regards the second proposal, I rather doubt if we can send any chemists or engineers at present.

Regarding the third proposal, I think we should wait for some time before we send any research fellows there. We can hardly send really good people and there is no point in sending second-rate men. Besides, I should like the Palestine situation to clear up before we start sending research fellows there.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. To B. Shiva Rao¹

New Delhi
March 20, 1949

My dear Shiva Rao,

With reference to the message from Dr. Weizmann which you sent me, I have consulted the Food Minister. He suggests that we should have two experts from Palestine, one who is specially qualified to advise us on intensive cultivation, that is, to increase the productivity per acre of existing cultivable land, and the other a specialist in cooperative farming. Further he suggests that we would welcome one or two experienced drilling engineers who could work percussion and rotary rigs for drilling tubewells and for training local recruits. These people can come for six months or more.

Could you have this message conveyed to the parties concerned.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 31(45)/49-PMS.

7. Agricultural Research¹

The acute shortage of foodgrains is a challenge to our intellect, resourcefulness, and to our very existence; we have to realize the urgency of the problem and treat it on an emergency basis.

The work that is being done by this Institute² is bound to prove useful particularly these days when the country has deficit in food. The importance of the Institute has considerably increased in view of the gravity of the situation and I want its organizers to realize the urgency of the national problem in its proper perspective.

We have to judge and weigh the results of our day to day undertakings as we cannot afford to wait for long and watch the results of our progress particularly when we are dependent upon other countries for our food supply.

We have decided to stop importing foodgrains after two years and we have to make our country self-sufficient in food.

Crores of rupees are spent every year for importing foodgrains to meet our requirements. It is a great financial drain on our resources which should not be allowed to continue. The decision to make India self-sufficient in the matter of foodgrains within two years will have no meaning unless it is implemented with the requisite determination.

In times of war one cannot arrange for import of foodgrains and it is such an emergency for which we should always be prepared. We shall have to make our country self-sufficient in the basic requirements of food, and under such circumstances an institution of this type becomes all the more important.

The yield of crops in this country is lower than that in other countries. Are our soils poor? We have got to increase the yield somehow and I know and you also know that it can be done. If we increase the yield by 10 per cent we can meet our deficit, and there is no reason why we cannot increase the yield by 20 per cent or 25 per cent. This is an immediate need of the country and we have got to do it. It is no use going on slowly and leisurely. We want quick results.

1. Address to the students of the Indian Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi, 20 March 1949. From *The Hindustan Times*, 21 March 1949.
2. The Indian Agricultural Research Institute was established in 1905 at Pusa in Bihar and later shifted to New Delhi in 1934. The primary function of the Institute includes the conducting of basic and applied research in the various branches of agricultural science, teaching at the postgraduate level and undertaking extensive advisory work.

The Government have undertaken various schemes of reclamation of wastelands and development of river valleys. This is important for increasing the productivity of the soil already under cultivation. If the productivity of the existing tracts under cultivation can be increased even by ten per cent, the situation will improve considerably.

The utility of the Indian Agricultural Research Institute can be judged only by the criterion of its being taken advantage of by the common cultivator. Farming on a cooperative basis can derive benefit from such an institution. But that will take a few years to materialize.

I wish such centres and museums for disseminating knowledge of the latest scientific methods of agriculture to be opened not only in all the provinces but in every district so that the peasants and the farmers may find opportunities to study them and develop a new outlook.

Instead of analysing the results of our experiments and the causes of our failures in putting through development schemes like a vanquished military commander, who tries to collect data for the cause of his defeat, we have to strive hard for solving our problems.

8. Procurement of Rice from Kachin State¹

The two telegrams² attached about export of rice from Burma presumably were sent by the Food Ministry. I do not see why rice should not be allowed to come from the Kachin State into Burma. The quantity involved is not great, but whatever it is, will be helpful to us in Assam and roundabout. This export will also create good relations with the Kachin State and this is desirable.

2. As for this export infringing our agreement with Burma, I do not myself see why this should be so. Owing to war conditions in Burma it is not possible for rice from Northern Burma to go to Southern Burma. Therefore the quantity in the south is not affected. In fact, if necessary, we should be prepared to fit in the rice we may get from the Kachin State direct to the total quota received by us from Burma. Anyhow this is a matter which can easily be adjusted. I thus do not at all see how it is obvious that we cannot encourage imports of rice from the Kachin State. In fact it is the reverse of obvious to me and the normal course

1. Note to the Ministry of External Affairs, 4 April 1949. File No. 3-3/49-BC I (B), M.E.A., N.A.I.
2. The two telegrams dated 2 April stated that India could import only the stipulated quota of rice sanctioned by the Burmese Government and turned down the suggestion made by the Government of Assam to bring rice from the Kachin State at an economical rate.

is to allow them to come and make necessary adjustments with Burma. This will be convenient for us, convenient for the Burma Government and would be helpful to the Kachins who are cooperating with the Burma Government.

9. To Gyan Chand¹

New Delhi
April 6, 1949

My dear Gyan Chand,

Your letter of April 6th.² About the Pohri Food Conference, I think you had better not go there. I had myself intended going there, but the Madhya Bharat Government did not like this idea at all for various reasons apparently being held by some opposition group. I decided therefore not to go there, as this would have created confusion. For the same reason, you should not go.

I agree with you that it will be desirable for you to visit some of the provincial centres to examine their development plans and schemes. You might draw up a programme for this in consultation with the Ministries concerned. Also it is important that you should get the previous consent of the Provincial Governments concerned to the date of your visit. In your letter to them it should appear that you are going there to help them and to gather information for the Centre. They should not be made to think that you are interfering needlessly.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17(134)/49-PMS.
2. Gyan Chand wanted to attend the Food Conference scheduled to be held at Pohri, Madhya Bharat, on 12 and 13 April. He had also requested Nehru to allow him 10 to 12 days in a month to visit provincial headquarters to discuss and collect information about their private schemes and economic development plans for the years 1949 and 1950.

10. To Jairamdas Doulatram¹

New Delhi
April 9, 1949

My dear Jairamdas,

You know that I am leaving for England on the 19th morning and that Boyd Orr is arriving here on the 16th morning.² My last few days here are terribly busy,

1. File No. 31(49)/49-PMS.
2. Boyd Orr had been invited by the Government of India to advise on methods to increase food production. See *ante*, letter to V.K. Krishna Menon.

but I must see Boyd Orr before I go. I would like him to stay with me, but perhaps I might not be able to fix this up because there will be many guests in my house. Even then, I shall try to make arrangements for him to stay with me. If not, he will have to stay in Government House.

I want to meet Boyd Orr separately by himself. I also want to meet him in a small conference at which you, Panjabi,³ Gupta,⁴ Krishnaswami⁵ and perhaps one or two others might be present. I think his programme should not be finalized till he comes here and discusses the matter with us. I am anxious to give him as free a hand as possible. We want to get the best out of him and not to come in the way of his wishes in any way. I understand that he is not so old as you thought and that he is very vigorous.

I presume you are preparing some papers for him, that is, factual material to show him what the position is and what our present policy and objectives are. According to his wishes, Krishnaswami will be attached to him completely during his tour and will function as his secretary or in some such capacity. He might now be asked to prepare these papers etc. for him. I presume Krishnaswami knows the full position in regard to food and agriculture because he will have to apprise Boyd Orr on the subject from time to time and to answer his questions.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. K.L. Panjabi.
4. C.B. Gupta.
5. S.Y. Krishnaswami (1906-1986); joined I.C.S. 1929; Secretary, Board of Revenue, Madras, 1942; Joint Secretary, Development Department, 1945; Additional Secretary, Ministry of Food, 1946; represented India in FAO Conferences.

11. To Jairamdas Doulatram¹

New Delhi
18 April 1949

My dear Jairamdas,

I saw Shri Ram this morning and he was rather worried at the slow progress made about his scheme of growing sweet potatoes' etc.² He showed me a letter of yours

1. File No. 31(PMS)/47, PMS.
2. This scheme envisaged an increase in the rate of production of a number of food items like sweet potatoes, tapioca and banana which would partially replace wheat or rice to cover the deficit of foodgrains. Shri Ram also proposed a large government grant to buy stock from the farmers directly, so as to give them an incentive.

to him in which you suggested that Rs. 10 lacs might be set aside for experiments and the results of these considered later.³

It seems to me that if we are going to work to achieve big results within two years, we have to proceed differently. Normally speaking, this business of encouraging sweet potatoes etc. should not entail any heavy expenditure on us. Indeed we should not lose anything at all by it or very little. It is a question of buying and selling. Anyway we can hardly proceed now on small experimental scales. The question of experimenting hardly arises when the thing has been done in other countries and presumably it can be done here.

Because finance is concerned, I have written a letter to Matthai, a copy of which I enclose.⁴

This matter, no doubt, will be discussed with Lord Boyd Orr and his advice also taken. I hope Shri Rám will see him.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. The Standing Committee of the Legislature had recommended the limit of Rs. 10 lakhs to start with.
4. See *post*, item 13.

12. To Jairamdas Doulatram¹

New Delhi
18 April 1949

My dear Jairamdas,

Thank you for your two letters of the 18th April.²

Whether Shri Ram's scheme is good or bad must be judged on the merits and generally on expert advice. I do not think the Standing Committee should be allowed to come in the way of any scheme that Cabinet considers worthwhile. I think we had better consider this matter fully after Lord Boyd Orr has advised us on this subject.

1. File No. 31(PMS)/47, PMS.
2. Jairamdas Doulatram wrote that there was strong opposition by the Standing Committee of the Legislature and the Finance Ministry to Shri Ram's scheme which proposed a heavy commitment of Rs. 10 to 11 crores to increase the production of food. He further wrote about the arrangements he was making for the provincial ministers of agriculture to meet Boyd Orr to seek his suggestions.

I like the idea of your inviting Provincial Ministers of Agriculture to meet Lord Boyd Orr at Delhi. I hope this will come off. I am glad also you are giving him an opportunity to meet the members of the Economic Committee of the Cabinet. I would suggest your adding Rajkumari Amrit Kaur to the list.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

13. To John Matthai¹

New Delhi
18 April 1949

My dear Matthai,

You will remember that we approved in Cabinet a scheme² to grow sweet potatoes, bananas, tapioca etc., as rapidly as possible, to make good, to some extent, the deficit in wheat and rice. We agreed that a Board might be formed, but we left the details to be worked out by the Food Ministry.

This suggestion was originally made over 2½ months ago, but progress has been slow. If the scheme is to succeed, we have to go ahead pretty fast and convince the people of what we want to do. The whole idea, of course, is based on the assumption that we are not capable of producing enough wheat and rice to cover our deficit at least during the next three or four years or more.

If we are to induce peasants and farmers to take this up, we have to give them some assurance of buying up what they grow. This means some investment of money for the time being. The stuff we buy will of course immediately be sold or used otherwise and the money will not be locked up or spent. How much money might be required for this purpose, I do not know. But whatever we pay in will come back very soon after. Under proper arrangements not much money ought to be locked up.

This matter, therefore, should not be considered from the point of view of spending a large sum of money but of providing some credit for a time. Unless we can give some assurance to the farmers who grow sugarcane etc., we shall not be able to go far.

I shall be grateful if you could discuss this matter with Lala Shri Ram, who has studied it thoroughly.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 31(PMS)/47, PMS.

2. See item 11, fn.2.

1

NATION-BUILDING

V. Education

1. To S.M. Katre¹

New Delhi
February 19, 1949

Dear Dr. Katre,²

Thank you for your letter of the 14th February.

I attach the greatest importance to the work of producing a Sanskrit dictionary of the type you mention. I think this is a vital undertaking for our country and our Government should certainly give every help. I am forwarding your letter to our Education Ministry.

You can rest assured that you will have every help from me in this great undertaking.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 40(46)/56-PMS.
2. (b. 1906); Professor of Sanskrit Language, D.N. Wadia College, Pune, 1933-34; Professor of Indo-European Philology, Deccan College, Pune, 1939-42 and later its Director; founder Editor of *New India Antiquity and Oriental Literary Digest*; General Editor of *Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles*.

2. Proposal for a Sanskrit Dictionary¹

I attach a letter from Dr. Katre and copy of my reply to him. Some other papers about the proposed Sanskrit dictionary had also been sent to me but I cannot find them for the moment. I shall send them as soon as I find them.

I have discussed this matter also with Professor Renou,² the French scholar, who has been in India recently. I am convinced that the work envisaged is of the highest national importance and that Government should give it every encouragement. The sum asked for, that is Rs. 58,000/- per year, is not very great considering

1. Note to Secretary, Ministry of Education, New Delhi, 19 February 1949. File No. 40(46)/56-PMS.
2. Louis Renou (1896-1966); French Orientalist and specialist on Vedic Philology; Professor of Letters, Faculty of Lyon University, 1925-28; Professor in Ecole des Hautes Etudes and Faculty of Letters, Sorbonne; Member de L' Institute, 1946; wrote several books including *Grammaire Sanskrite* and *Bibliographie Vedique*.

the nature of the work. I think we should certainly guarantee it. This work, if properly done, will be of inestimable advantage not only to Sanskrit but to all our languages and to India's credit in the world.

I suppose some kind of an arrangement should be entered into with the promoters of this undertaking. Education Ministry might consider this matter.

Could you please let me know what you propose to do in this matter? I need hardly assure you that you will have my fullest support.

3. To John Matthai¹

New Delhi
22 February 1949

My dear Matthai,

Thank you for your letter of the 22nd in regard to the expenditure on educational schemes.²

About the expenditure on scheduled caste scholarships and whether the Centre should commit itself to any further expenditure or the Provinces, surely the question is one of high principles and not merely a financial question. If on financial grounds it is said that it is not possible to provide any further money, it is difficult for anything more to be said about it. But the principle of the Centre doing more or less for the scheduled classes has nothing to do with finance. We have pledged ourselves to give a larger grant from the Centre for this purpose and this assurance was made on a demand made from many members of the Assembly. We shall inevitably be asked how far we have kept that pledge. But the point is that whether the Centre helps more or not in this matter cannot be judged by the Finance Ministry alone. The Finance Ministry can only ultimately say that it has not got the money for it.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Matthai wrote that the sum of Rs 5.5 lakhs provided in the budget of 1949-50 for scheduled caste scholarships seemed to be adequate, though he did not favour releasing a lump sum grant to the Education Ministry to be forwarded to the scheduled castes. This "cuts at the root of the principle underlying the independent control which the Treasury in all the modern countries exercises over governmental expenditure on behalf of the taxpayers." The fact that some educational schemes are of a "specialised" nature was "hardly relevant to the point at issue."

I am afraid I do not still understand your objection to a lump sum being set aside to be used at the discretion of the Education Ministry for certain schemes or experiments in education. The question again is not one of money being available, in regard to which the Finance Ministry would have the final say. It is one of the principles underlying such matters. I think you will find that in many countries this principle is accepted. Whether any educational scheme is justifiable or not cannot be judged by the Finance Ministry better than by the Education Ministry. Presumably we have experts in education in the Education Ministry and no such experts in the Finance Ministry. What is the point of having experts in a particular branch and then asking others who are non-experts in that matter to have the final say. It is not the Finance Ministry alone that is responsible to the tax-payers but the whole Government.

To give you an extreme instance, secret funds are placed at the disposal of some departments of Government for intelligence work and the like, on which in the nature of things there can be no scrutiny by Finance. They may be and probably are misapplied. That example of course does not apply in the present case. The other day, very rightly, Finance agreed to place at my disposal two lakhs of rupees for experiments in housing. This kind of grant is quite common everywhere and in fact even your Ministry is often making such grants.

I do not myself see how the Finance Ministry is in a better position to judge whether a grant should be made to the Tamil Academy³ or to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal or indeed to some of the institutions mentioned in the list of approved schemes that you have sent me. I can understand a large grant. I can also understand the expenditure on any matter being scrutinized later.

I have no doubt that your Ministry considers all such proposals in a sympathetic manner. But inevitably there are often delays and it may be that sometimes a particular scheme involving a relatively small amount is approved of by the Education Ministry but not by the Finance Ministry. I should imagine that the Education Ministry would be the best judge of that scheme. Normally of course the grants would be sent for approval to the Finance Ministry, more especially all those above a certain amount. Even in regard to the other and smaller grants, which may be made out of a special fund, immediate information would be sent to the Finance Ministry.

I realize that there is a chance of some money being given for purposes which are not really important or from which adequate results do not flow. That is a risk which we should try to avoid. But I do not still understand how the Finance Ministry is going to judge of these proposals, unless it keeps educational experts who can

3. Tamil Valarchi Kazhagam, founded in 1946 with the objective of promoting Tamil language, literature and arts; publications include *Tamil Encyclopaedia* (10 volumes) and *Tamil Children's Encyclopaedia* (10 volumes).

look upon them from an educational point of view. I do not know by what test the Finance Ministry would attach importance, say to the work of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha. Have any of your Secretaries or others any special knowledge of it, or of the political and cultural implications of this work? From the political and cultural points of view, the work may be of the highest importance, as I think it is. It touches one of the vital problems of the day which is splitting the country into two rival groups.

I feel, therefore, that the allocation of a certain grant, whatever it may be, to be spent at the discretion of the Education Ministry for specialized subjects and experiments in education, is perfectly valid in principle and indeed is a fairly common practice. I do not think the Legislature will object to it.

Certain subjects like Education and Health are supposed to be provincial subjects in the main. For many years our expenditure on these subjects at the Centre have been strictly limited. The Economy Committee, evidently attaching no great importance to these subjects, thinks that the Centre should spend as little as possible and leave them to the provinces. That is an outlook which no longer applies to a modern State, even a Federal State, and more and more the Federal Government takes interest in both these very vital subjects, on which the entire progress of the country depends. In a moment of emergency we spent, because we must, vast sums of money on the defence forces. But something that is quite essential for any progress is supposed to be of secondary importance to be dealt with chiefly by the provinces. I have no doubt that both in Education and Health the Centre will have to play a much more important part.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
24 February 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Your letter of the 19th February about certain questions and answers in the Assembly on an exchange of students between the Soviet Union and India.²

1. J.N. Collection.

2. On 4 February 1949, Maulana Azad, the Education Minister, was questioned in the Constituent Assembly about the problems faced by the Ministry in sending students to the Soviet Union.

I entirely agree with you that nothing should be said by any Minister which might embarrass another Ministry. On going through the questions and answers all that I find is that the Education Ministry got rather entangled in the supplementaries. I do not think he intended to cast any blame on the Home Ministry. Kamath read out some long passage and asked if this was correct.³

Maulana in Urdu said something to the effect that it was partly correct. Later on he said that he had given up the idea of sending students at present to Russia because of lack of facilities etc. All that appears from this is a certain ineptness in answering supplementaries. I hardly think it is necessary to carry the matter any further.

I have informed our Ambassador in Moscow about this matter and cleared up the misunderstanding.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. H.V. Kamath read out the following report published from Delhi on 11 October 1948: "A scheme for exchange of students between India and Russia was initiated by the Education Ministry following the receipt of about a dozen applications from post-graduate Indian students seeking facilities for study in medicine, education, agriculture and political science in Russia. The Russian Government, it is understood, agreed to provide facilities on a reciprocal basis. The scheme had, however, to be dropped on the recommendation of the Ministry of Home Affairs which did not consider the present time suitable for its implementation."

5. Work and More Work¹

Mrs. Rustomji Faridoonji² and Friends,

Always at such functions there is an initial and primary difficulty about the language one should use, and sometimes that difficulty is got over by a bilingual effort. Well, Mrs. Rustomji tells me that I can have my choice but she would somewhat prefer

1. Convocation address at Lady Irwin College, New Delhi, 20 March 1949. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L. This speech was delivered partly in English and partly in Hindustani.
2. Hilla Rustomji Faridoonji (1872-1956); founder secretary and chairperson of the All India Women's Education Fund Association, 1929; Chairperson, Lady Irwin College, 1933-44, and its President, 1944-56.

speaking in English. I would somewhat prefer speaking in Hindi. So in the balance, perhaps, you might have a little of both. It is curious, but I think this is the first time I have come to the Lady Irwin College.³ I have come to this building previously, but for other purposes. Yet for a large number of years, I have been hearing about it, and some people closely associated with this college have been my intimate friends and colleagues. They have often spoken about it, and I have heard a great deal to the advantage of this college, and sometimes some things to the disadvantage of this college. Still, I must say that the general report has been to its advantage. I have little doubt that this college is doing very good work and institutions of this kind should be encouraged.

But sometimes a kind of doubt creeps into my mind as to how far an institution like this, which is undoubtedly good but deals only with an isolated class of the Indian population instead of dealing with any mass problem, is useful. In spite of managing its own affairs fairly well, how far is it really helping in the upliftment of the vast masses¹ of India? If it is not concerned with the latter problem, it will gradually get more and more isolated. The fact is that whether you want it or not, or whether I want it or not, the whole trend of future affairs will have to do more and more with the vast numbers of people in India. But there is a difficulty about that; if we think too much in terms of the masses, it may mean reducing our standards which we should rather keep up in every way. On the other hand, if we think only in terms of standards for a group or a class and not in terms of the larger numbers of human beings in the country, then those very standards become not only quite separated and isolated from the rest of the country, but ultimately have little meaning except possibly for a few individuals or a small group. Now, how to strike a balance between the two? It is a difficult problem because the standards of our masses are terribly low and nothing really can be done with those standards except to try to raise them. To bring down the standards of others to that level may not result in raising the general standards. Therefore, we have to keep up higher standards in education etc., but somehow we must tie them on to the other problems in order to give them vitality and a certain organic connection with the real problems of the country. Inevitably the real problems of the country will have to deal with the millions in this country. They will also, I hope, deal with the exceptional people and give them every encouragement. But those persons who are not exceptional in mind or body but who happen to be exceptional only because their parents possess some more money may not be encouraged too much because there is nothing particular in them to be encouraged. Therefore in all these educational institutions, which cater to the select few, this problem has to be faced. I do not mention this problem particularly for this institution, but this is a genuine problem of our educational institutions. We have to keep a high standard of

3. Founded in 1932 to teach Home Sciences.

education in our schools, though at this moment we just cannot afford to impart it to everybody. We cannot scrap a good system and introduce a relatively low standard for everybody. That would not be good enough, because then we will have nothing to work for. It would be right to keep these high standard institutions as examples and work for the others to reach that level.

Again, those people who go out from these institutions after receiving their training, what do they look forward to exactly? What is their purpose in life? After all, education is meant to give some purpose in life or the capacity to choose one's purpose in life. I do not know if all those who go through our educational processes have any clear purpose in life or not. But they ought to have one, whatever that might be. Those who are fortunate in getting the advantage of special education and training should be thankful to the community and must try to pay back in some form of service to the community. Otherwise, those people have profited unfairly at the expense of the community. The more the community has spent on them in terms of time, service and money the greater the obligation of those people to the community. Now, those, for instance, who pass through the Lady Irwin College and get their diplomas, what exactly do they intend to do with them? Some of them will teach here, some of them may go elsewhere to perform some active service to the community, which I consider is really good. Many of them no doubt will get entangled in marriage. Please do not think at all that I am against the institution of marriage. Not that, but it is not quite clear to me, why a person who gets married should forget or ignore her duty to the community. I think it is quite possible that the two functions marriage and service to the community can be combined. I do further feel that our girls should realize that marriage does not, in a sense, end their career of service to the community. Therefore those who learn here and study here, I hope, will carry back this obligation with them. Just as the community, may be through their parents or others, has helped them to gain this special knowledge or experience, similarly it is up to them to pay back the debt through service.

As a matter of fact, the India of today wants in every sphere a vast number of trained workers of all types and kinds. In the past we worked only on political lines for political purposes. Now politics is ever with us in some form or the other, often enough in very undesirable forms. A country which is fighting a struggle for freedom has its mind concentrated on the political aspect of the question. It is as if a person has some kind of a boil on the body, and you have to think of that particular painful eruption and forget everything else more or less. It is not a healthy sign that politics absorbs all our attention, when we should be dominated by other developments for the nation's interest. Only when that ceases can a free community think of many other things and activities.

At the present moment we are in a strange period of transition and adjustment. Very few of us and, I say so quite frankly, including myself, can easily adjust ourselves to the rapid change in the scene that is taking place partly all over the

world and more so in India. So many things have happened here. There is a tremendous lag between things as they are happening and the functioning of our minds. It is an odd thing, because the mind and thought should function with extreme rapidity. Nevertheless, people's minds are very slow, and they seldom catch up to events. Most of the difficulties the world suffers from are due to the fact that people's minds are not catching up to changing events. When events change very rapidly, as they change now, everything gets upset. There are external upsets and even worse internal upsets in people's minds. Now, therefore, we are passing through this period which requires a tremendous deal of understanding of changing things, political, economic, social and cultural and our adaptation to them; not only adaptation but also an attempt to mould them in the right direction. Ultimately, I suppose, we have to do it, and we will do it, but if we do not adapt ourselves properly, we will be forced to do so painfully.

So, those of you, who have completed or are going to complete your courses of education now and have to face India at this very strange and peculiar stage of her existence, have to understand India as she is; the problems of India and your duty to India, and to the community at large. We talk a great deal in terms of platitudes. A platitude, of course, is a good thing, for normally it is supposed to represent some permanent truth. So we need not decry a platitude. But there is a danger in uttering a platitude. By doing so we think we have done our duty and our mind does not try to understand anything else and we do not try to adjust ourselves to the particular functions we should perform.

Now, perhaps, what I am telling you is not quite suited to the occasion. But, anyhow, I have said what occurred to me and I thought important. All of us should understand things, as they are, the basic, fundamental things that are happening, not so much the superficial things, not even, if I may say so with all respect, the arguments that take place in our Assemblies and elsewhere because sometimes they are important, sometimes they deal with temporary, more or less day to day matters, which are exciting and interesting but which may have no significance a year later. The test of a thing after all is, will it be important ten years later, five years later or not? It is extraordinary to think that the average happenings, over which we get tremendously excited, become insignificant five years later and we forget about them. So let us remember this changing scene, try to understand it and try to fit into it, and try to realize that India is changing; is going to change by the hard work of her people and not by superficial efforts or resolutions of some persons or organizations although well-meaning. So it is time for hard work for all of us.

The other day I used a phrase which, if you will permit me, I shall repeat because it brought to my own mind rather dramatically the situation we are in. I said that this generation of ours was condemned to hard labour. Now, hard labour can be of many kinds. There is the hard labour of the prison of the condemned convict which is imposed upon him whether he wants it or not; and if he fails or slackens,

he is punished. Nothing can be more disagreeable than that. Then there is the hard labour for doing something which you value, try to achieve something which appeals to you and which yields results. Now that type of hard labour is a most exhilarating experience. You grow with it. You have a feeling of contentment and satisfaction. Hearing the rumour that I work till late in the night people come and tell me, feeling no doubt very friendly to me, that "you must not work so hard, you must sleep more, you must eat more, you must do this and that, take holidays", and the like. Very good advice no doubt. But when I look around me and see the condition of my contemporaries at school and college, who to the best of my belief have slept more, eaten more, rested more, taken more holidays than I did, I find that I am much better than they: better physically, better mentally, more alive, more vital, more capable of work, and with more capacity to enjoy life. And they, having tried all through their lives to preserve themselves for some future occasion, have somehow missed the very thing they were aiming at. So do not be afraid of work; work hard, when you like to, work all night and work all day, it won't do any harm I can tell you. We require this work, but the work of course must not be just an odd work but a work to bear fruit; it must be a work coming out of a trained mind and a trained body. All worthwhile work must have training behind it and presumably the Lady Irwin College trains your minds and bodies.

You get your diplomas here, but the examinations that are likely to come later for you will be much more difficult. Every period and stage of life is a kind of examination and a test. There are not many who pass that examination; quite a large number linger on the way or slacken or simply drop out of the procession, and very few reach the end of the journey, as they should, in proper condition. So, if the Lady Irwin College has not only taught you how to work and fitted your minds and bodies for it but also given you an urge to work and work hard for a good cause, then it has done well with you. If you have aimed merely at getting a diploma and using it as something of marketable value, and have no other particular intention, then the Lady Irwin College has rather wasted its efforts on you. Now, I propose to speak in Hindustani.

What will you do after you have passed your examinations and received the diplomas? Will you go abroad? What are the goals before you? You must have something definite in mind. There is no reason for all of you to have the same goals and ideals or that they should remain unaltered throughout your lives. You can make changes. But you must have a definite purpose in mind if you want to succeed. The India of today needs bright, hard working and intelligent people. I see that often people are busy criticizing and complaining about others abusing them, and do not do anything themselves. There are many people like this. No doubt it is a very easy thing to do—criticizing the actions of others because there are many weaknesses and evils in our country. But if you really want to improve the others, you can do so only by doing something yourself. Merely criticizing others does not have much effect.

Therefore I tell you only this, that I hope you have learnt to work hard, to work whole-heartedly and with a view to achieving something, and not to interfere in other people's business. Yes, friendly advice is a good thing but merely criticizing and finding faults with others is the hallmark of an idle mind and it is not tolerated for long. Just now Mrs. Rustomji Faridoonji mentioned about my father and his times. I have the right to say that I too belong to those times because we belong to a rapidly passing era. Now it is the turn of you young men and women, boys and girls. You will have to take up the burdens and responsibilities of India. We cannot go on forever—others have to take their turn. How far you are able to take up these responsibilities will depend on how well you have trained your minds. You have been through college and received diplomas but you will be mistaken if you think that your days of study are over or that you have acquired all the knowledge that is necessary and that you have no need to make any more effort. A man learns very little in a university or a college. What you learn there—if it is good education—is merely to train your minds to learn on your own. If you have learnt that much in the Lady Irwin College, then you have learnt a good deal because no one can learn much in two or three years. But if your minds have received the proper training and acquired the capacity to learn on your own, then you have done well because it means that you have equipped yourself with the method of learning.

College education is only a beginning, your real learning has to continue throughout your lives. I would like to tell you that what I read in school and college was very little. Yes, I got a diploma and a B.A. and an M.A. degree. But let me tell you that I did not have to work very hard to get it. I bought them for five pounds because the tradition in the University of Cambridge was that if the honours graduates kept paying their subscriptions for 3 years, they were automatically given M.A. degrees. So I wasted that money and got the degree. But though whatever I learnt there in the University was useful, my real learning came later when I had opportunity, which you will probably never have, of having complete leisure to read in jails. Now this sort of good fortune does not fall to everyone's lot and hereafter there will be no such opportunity in India. Anyhow, whether you go to jail or not, you must understand that if you stop reading and learning even for a little while, you will become backward in the world. You must keep the windows of your minds, your eyes and ears constantly open. Reading does not mean merely taking up a novel and enjoying it. You can read it, of course. But real reading should enrich the mind, train it to think and help in understanding a little the problems of the world and especially those which arise during the course of your own work and to look at them from fresh angles.

Yesterday I did an unusual thing. I went to see a film. It was unusual for me. The film was shown in the Government House in the afternoon and lasted for about two hours. It was from our Indian Information Service, an official documentary called 'India Independent.' I think it is a good film and if you have the opportunity,

you should also see it, though I do not have to tell you because you must be going often to films. In the beginning the ancient buildings and temples of India are shown, bringing into focus India's ancient culture, tradition and civilization. Then gradually it comes up to the recent history of the last 30 odd years since Mahatma Gandhi came on the scene and the struggle for freedom began. There are brief scenes from the freedom movement, satyagraha, etc., but not in great detail because the whole story has to be told in 10-15 minutes. Then the events of the last 2 to 3 years are shown, ending with the 15th of August, 1947, our Independence Day. In about half an hour or forty-five minutes, 2500 years of Indian history was presented before us—the ancient period, the freedom struggle, and then the recent past. It had a very peculiar effect on me to see the history of India unfolding before me. I have thought and written a great deal about the subject. So when I saw the film, it shook me up and I felt that in this long procession of thousands of years of India's history, we too have played a part, albeit with faltering steps, and we too will move ahead, yielding our place to others.

So the history of our time is a splendid one and we should do nothing to detract from it, but must contribute towards making it even more splendid. There is no doubt that our history, long as it is, is ancient, first-rate and something to be proud of, even if we have fallen into wrong ways from time to time. The film showed the period in which we have also played a small role and though actually the main character was Mahatma Gandhi, in whose shadow we walked, we too gained in stature and shone. When I saw the film, I remembered all these long years of struggle and clamour and realized that an era had ended. A new chapter begins in the history of India and though we still continue to be a part of it, now the responsibility is of others, of girls and boys like you and our youth. It is a big responsibility but you should feel honoured to shoulder it. So you have to prepare yourself and remember that it is not a small thing to be able to call yourself citizens of India. We are heirs to the great wealth of India accumulated over thousands of years and it belongs to all of us. The heritage of India belongs to every citizen of India and not only to India but to the whole world; but it belongs more especially to us because it is the product of our own country and we grow up with it. So the question before us is, how to make ourselves worthy of that heritage and how to add something to the history of our times and not detract from it? You have to keep this problem before you and think about it constantly. Only then you and the country and the world will benefit from what you have learnt here. *Jai Hind.*

6. The Significance of Forestry¹

I am delighted to visit this Institute. Forestry occupies a significant place in national planning. The students are lucky to get the benefit of an open air and healthy life alongwith service. If they coordinated the two, there are many opportunities for progress.

The days of awarding degrees and diplomas have passed. Now is the time for a dynamic outlook. Everyone should prove advantageous to the country and try to bring happiness to the people.

The immediate need is for a new approach to all problems of research and training and for dynamic action to help solve the various problems of the country with speed and urgency. I feel that Central control of forest education is essential if adequate standards are to be maintained.

It is important to get on with the work irrespective of whether amenities such as buildings are available or not and research workers should do their best to produce results that can be translated into action without delay for the benefit of the masses and establish that work done at the Institute is commensurate with the fine estate in which it is housed and the large expenditure that the Government of India incurred on it.

I am a lover of mountains and forests and birds and animals that live in them. I am keenly interested in India's forests and in their playing a full part in promoting the prosperity of the country.

1. Address at the annual convocation of the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, 24 March 1949. Based on *Indian News Chronicle*, 26 March and *The Hindustan Times*, 29 March 1949.

7. The Forest Research Institute¹

Yesterday I visited the Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun.² I was told there that their building programme for additional hostels etc. has been held up for four

1. Note to Minister for Works, Mines and Power, 25 March 1949. File No. 31(57)/49-PMS.
2. It was set up in 1914 in Chandbagh Estate, Dehra Dun. As demand for forest produce increased a new Forest Research Institute was founded at Kaulagarh, a few miles away from Dehra Dun in 1929.

or five years. Apparently all sanctions have been accorded, plans made etc. and all that has got to be done is to erect the buildings. They have been put to considerable difficulty for lack of these buildings.

2. It seemed to me that the best course for us to adopt was to tell them to go ahead with these buildings with their own resources. They have got competent engineers, planners etc., as good as any, and they can easily undertake the job. I suggest, therefore, that you should or the Central Public Works Department should tell them to go ahead with their buildings in accordance with the plans and sanctions made and not to wait for the P.W.D. to undertake it. Indeed where competent persons are concerned I would suggest that this should be adopted. Anyhow in this particular case it is quite easy to do so. The P.W.D. may inspect the buildings from time to time. This will remove a burden from the P.W.D. and get work done. Also it is possible that it may be done a little more cheaply.

8. To Anil Kumar Chanda¹

New Delhi
April 1, 1949

My dear Anil,

Your letter of the 27th March.² I dislike very greatly assuming further responsibilities, however formal they might be. Nevertheless, Santiniketan does stand on an entirely separate footing and if it is the general desire that I should be some kind of a formal President, I shall agree to it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 9/128/49-55-PMS.

2. Anil Chanda requested Nehru to succeed Sarojini Naidu, who had just died, to the post of Acharya of the Visva Bharati. He wrote it was something which Gurudeva would have greatly appreciated.

9. To B.V. Keskar¹

New Delhi
April 8, 1949

My dear Balkrishna,

Habib² had written to me suggesting that you might deliver a series of University Extension lectures at Aligarh on the international situation. I am glad you went to Aligarh and spoke there. It is a good idea for you to visit universities occasionally. But I am afraid a series of lectures on current topics might be a more risky venture. We cannot easily discuss all these current topics in public. However I am thinking about it and we can discuss this matter later.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 40(14)/48-PMS.
2. (1895-1971); Professor of History, Aligarh Muslim University; author of *Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni*, (1924); *Amir Khusrau of Delhi* (1927); and *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad* (1948).

10. To U.A. Asrani¹

New Delhi
April 8, 1949

My dear Asrani,²

Thank you for your letter of the 5th April.³ I am more or less acquainted with what you have written, or, at any rate, the general trends of what you have written. It is a bad business. What surprises me most is the exceeding narrowness of vision of all these persons concerned.

The impression you referred to about different groups looking up to different persons in Delhi is of course completely without foundation.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 40(26)/56-PMS.
2. Udharam A. Asrani (1893-1971); Assistant Professor of Physics, Banaras Hindu University (1919-50); imprisoned five times in the freedom movement; author of *Story of a Mighty Soul* and *Yoga Unveiled*.
3. Asrani wrote about the controversy over the allegations of financial irregularities in Banaras Hindu University and indiscipline among its students which had badly affected the reputation of the University.

11. Facing the Future¹

I like addressing students because I am eager to find out what sort of persons they are. Despite the revolutionary changes which have occurred, I hope they feel themselves strong enough to face anything the future holds in store for them.

We have big problems before us and need big people to solve them. The younger generation should face the future with courage and be quiet and confident, so as to joyously shoulder the heavy responsibilities that will soon fall on them, because the trend of future world events shows that India, by virtue of her geographical position and vast resources, will play an important role in it.

Ultimately the greatness of the nation depends on the number of first-rate people it produces in all fields of activity. For this certain innate qualities are needed as everybody cannot be an Einstein or a Ramanujam.² It is necessary to raise the general standard and give every person an opportunity to develop his potentialities.

I feel confident as India has done a very good job. Compared to other Asian countries she presents a favourable picture and is definitely progressing even though slowly.

I can visualize that India in 15 to 20 years will emerge as a great and powerful nation by making full use of her potential resources. I dislike the attitude of India being regarded as the leader of Asia. People should think in terms of mutual cooperation and India, by reason of her geographical position and resources, cannot avoid certain obligations and responsibilities towards other Asian countries.

The next five years will be full of tension and suspicion. But I do not think there will be any major war.

I still think of my own college days and the years that followed. Most of the studies I have done have been done in jail. People who think that studies end with the getting of a degree cannot do very much. For me the opportunity to study came in jail and I took advantage of it.

For an individual or nation to progress it is essential to have a blending of education and experience. If they pull in opposite directions it will lead to frustration.

In 1920 I found myself perplexed as to what I should do. At this time Mahatma Gandhi showed us a new way which appealed to both mind and experience. This changed the atmosphere of the whole country, and people willingly went to jail and underwent all sorts of privations for the sake of the country.

1. Address to the students of Delhi University, 9 April 1949. From *The Hindustan Times*, 10 April 1949.
2. Srinivasan Ramanujam (1887-1920); mathematician; known for his researches on theory of numbers and fractions.

12. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
April 10, 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose a copy of a letter I am writing to General Choudhury.² The subject will interest you. It is not something to be decided soon. But it would be good if our minds gave some attention to it even at this stage.

Ali Yavar suggested that some kind of an endowment fund out of the Hyderabad securities, which were given to Pakistan, might be made for the University. Whether this is possible or not, I do not know.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 40(54)/56-PMS.
2. See *post*, item 13.

13. To J.N. Choudhury¹

New Delhi
April 10, 1949

My dear Choudhury,

Last night Ali Yavar Jung saw me and discussed the future of Osmania University.² He was rather worried about it. For the present there was no risk, but he was afraid that with the coming of popular government, the University might suffer and be pulled in various directions. I think this is quite likely. As it is, our universities are not in a good way and the standards have gone down. In Hyderabad a new popular administration will be inexperienced and will probably be too full of their political problems and conflicts to pay much attention to education. Apart from this, there is the linguistic problem and three provincial languages³ may not be able to survive these various attacks upon it.

1. File No. 40(54)/56-PMS.
2. Founded on 5 October 1918 by the then Nizam Mir Osman Ali Khan, after whom the University is named.
3. The three prevailing languages in Hyderabad at that time were Marathi, Telugu and Kannada.

The Osmania University is a fine institution and it would be a pity if it went to pieces. Ali Yavar suggested that it might be taken over by the Centre like Benares and Aligarh. I do not know if this will be easily possible. But I rather like the idea.

Ali Yavar further suggested that in view of Hindi or Hindustani becoming the national language, it would be a good thing if there was a university centre in the South devoted to the spread of the national language. Of course this centre would also teach the provincial languages of the areas. But these provincial languages will, in future, be specially catered for by the Andhra University, Madras and Mysore.

I should like you and Ali Yavar to give further thought to these ideas and to give them some shape so that they might be considered at the proper time.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

NATION-BUILDING
VI. Art and Culture

1. To Rafi Ahmed Kidwai¹

New Delhi

February 16, 1949

My dear Rafi,

I gather that you want my father's photograph for reproduction in postage stamps. I do not know what your idea is about such reproduction. Personally I think that we should not reproduce any person's pictures. It is far better to reproduce historic monuments and the like as you have done. This idea can be extended.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 27(37)/48-PMS.

2. Repair of Mosques and Dargahs¹

I wrote to you² some time back about the repairs to the *dargahs* at Mehrauli.³ I was informed later that many of these repairs had been carried out but the marble balustrade or railing had been left as it was. The *Mutwalli*⁴ disapproved of a wooden balustrade and marble was difficult to obtain and costly. I suppose we had better wait a little before we put back any marble there, but it must be understood that it is our duty and obligation to repair that *dargah* with marble where necessary. These places are continuous advertisements of our policy and therefore we cannot leave them neglected or in a broken down condition. Therefore the sooner this matter is dealt with the better.

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary, 25 February 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 8, p. 134.
3. Khwaja Qutubuddin Bakhtiar Kaki's mausoleum in the village of Mehrauli. This *dargah* is the oldest shrine in Delhi. The saint after whom it was named was the second in the line of the Chishti saints in India. He died in 1236 A.D.
4. The person entrusted with the management of the Muslim religious foundations.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

2. A prominent person from Afghanistan⁵ who has been here has mentioned to me that a number of other mosques or *dargahs* badly require repairs. He mentioned Shah Waliullah's⁶ *Maqbara* in Kucha Baqi Billah and the mosque in Paharganj.⁷ I do not know what the state of these mosques etc. is, but I shall be grateful if you will have them attended to.

3. A copy of this is being sent to the Chief Commissioner, Delhi.

5. Mohammad Hashim Maiwandwal, Editor-Proprietor of the well-known Kabul daily, *Anis*, was on a goodwill tour of India.
6. (1702-1762); theologian who attempted an integrative interpretation of Islam.
7. Qadam-Sharif, situated in Paharganj, was built by Feroz Tughlaq (1351-1388) for his own use, but when his son died, he was buried there.

3. The Konarak Temple¹

Two days ago I visited the Konarak temple and spent some hours there in the company of His Excellency the Governor and the Premier of Orissa. This temple is a magnificent structure, unique in many ways. It deserves preservation.

2. I found many pieces of stone and rock lying about all round the temple. Many of these pieces were of value and should have been separated and kept apart in some kind of a museum or at least a shed. There was a small museum where some important pieces of sculpture had been arranged. But much more could have been done and should be done. As it is, there is a grave danger of our losing some valuable specimens. Indeed I was told that people took away many of these pieces, either as souvenirs or for some other purpose.

1. Note to the Governor and Premier of Orissa, 12 March 1949. File No. 7(74)/48-PMS.

3. I do not know what the Archaeological Department is doing in this matter. Of course, what will ultimately be necessary is large-scale excavations all round. This may wait a while owing to financial stringency. But I think something should be done immediately. There is always the danger of parts of the temple collapsing. I suggest that the following steps should be taken:

- (i) A very close survey of the temple and the pieces of stone and sculpture lying about. All the worthwhile pieces should be separated and put in a proper shed.
- (ii) Photographs of the temple and its separate parts and important sculptures should be taken in some profusion and a record made. A small cinema film might also be made and it may be desirable to issue a small illustrated booklet on the Konarak temple.

4. All this has to be done by some competent archaeologist from the Centre who should have the help and cooperation of the Provincial Government.

5. Another matter of importance is the encouragement of the very fine textiles that Orissa still produces. The designs and the weaving of these textiles are exceedingly good. Unfortunately newer and unattractive designs are often taking the place of old ones. The Provincial Government is, I believe, helping this. This might be done on a more organized and extensive basis.

6. Other arts and crafts of Orissa also deserve encouragement. The filigree work of Cuttack is famous. This may be left to its own resources and no particular government help seems to be needed.

7. Reverting to the Konarak temple, I think some models of the finer statues should be produced.

4. Vandalism at Ellora¹

I should like to draw your attention to the attached newspaper cutting.² I should like you to take immediate action in this matter and find out from the Bombay Government or the Hyderabad Government what has happened and who is responsible for this vandalism. Whoever is responsible must be proceeded against in a court of law and steps must be taken that this kind of thing is not repeated.

1. Note to Ministry of Education, 19 March 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. In an editorial, in the *Times of India*, Bombay, 19 March 1949, it was reported that idols and figures at Ellora Caves were smeared with red paint.

5. Ramakrishna and Vivekananda¹

Swamiji,² Brothers and Sisters,

I am in a great dilemma because arrangements have been made to record my speech and broadcast it abroad. But since you are gathered here, it is but proper that I should speak in Hindi because it is possible that many of you may not understand English. Not that you will miss much if you do not understand what I say. But anyhow, I say something with the intention that it should be understood by you. So it is somewhat difficult for me to look at you and address people in the United States.

I have come here today with great alacrity and am grateful to Swamiji for inviting me on such an occasion because I have observed the working of the Ramakrishna Mission for a long time with great respect. My experience during the last 25 years of its work, both in India and abroad, has been that not only is it good but it is also done without any fanfare or show which is very rare. There

1. Speech at Ramakrishna Mission, New Delhi, 20 March 1949. A.I.R. Tapes in Hindi, N.M.M.L.
2. Swami Ranganathananda.

are other instances of such selfless devotion but they are few and far between. I have seen a number of institutions and there are good as well as bad people in all of them. But I cannot think of a single one which has impressed me with its quality of pure, selfless spirit of work, with no thought of gain or fanfare, as the Ramakrishna Mission has done. Therefore, whenever I get an opportunity to speak about its work I do so with alacrity.

Today is an auspicious day dedicated to the memory of Shri Ramakrishna Paramahansa. Perhaps I am not really qualified to say very much about him except that he has once again made the ancient Indian tradition of great savants and seers come alive. Silently, he generated a new trend which continues to make an impact in India. He showed us once again something that has been a tradition from time immemorial in our country, that the search for truth has been the real and fundamental goal of our great men and in achieving it they do not tolerate any barriers. They have gone where the search has led them undeterred by barriers of religion and caste. From very ancient times, it has been the practice in India to welcome new thoughts and ideas with open arms. Indian thought and philosophy made a tremendous impact upon the world and remained unshaken by the fresh breeze which was allowed to blow in. Our great thinkers have always tried to keep narrowmindedness at bay. They remained firm and unshaken in their ideas and beliefs. But it has never been the tradition in India to denigrate anything merely because it did not form part of our religion or ideas. This was the greatness and strength of India.

Unfortunately a great deal of narrowmindedness has crept in among us which is belittling the country's stature. At a time like this it is befitting that we should pay homage to the memory of a great man like Ramakrishna Paramahansa and keep before us his life and work, his long search for truth and his teachings. He made a tremendous impact upon the people around him. None of us have seen him. But we learn from books that he was a simple, innocent human being. What then was the charisma, the magic of his personality that he drew people to him and made an indelible impression upon them. Scholars and people in high office used to bow down their heads before him. He had a number of illustrious disciples, the most famous of them being Swami Vivekananda. Now Swami Vivekananda's name starts a new train of thought.

I have read Swami Vivekananda's books and lectures for years and been profoundly impressed by his personality. Whatever he said was no doubt right and proper. Others have said them too. But there was a fire in his words and writings, and a great stress on India's ancient culture, thoughts and ideals imbued all his works. At the same time, it may be said of him that he was a modern man who understood the times that we are living in. He was not shackled by old shibboleths and dogma. Therefore his writings were relevant not only when he wrote them fifty or sixty years ago but continue to be so even today. They have not grown stale because he has caught the essence of Indian culture

which like all fundamental truths can never become stale. It has a vitality and freshness of its own.

Swami Vivekananda did not enter the field of politics. But there is no doubt about it that he was one of the great men who started the freedom movement in the sense that he infused new life into a crushed nation and enabled it to recognize its own strength. One thing that he detested above all was fear and weakness. Fearlessness is the highest achievement for any human being. This was the role played by Swami Vivekananda in his very short life and he made a tremendous impact upon the country. I do not know how many youth today read his articles and speeches or how much they know about him. But I would say that if they read him even today they would benefit a great deal. They would imbibe a part of Swami Vivekananda's vitality because the words of great men have a magic, an electricity which galvanize the hearts and minds of the readers. He electrified the country without the fanfare of politics but with a quiet strength which made a tremendous impact on the elite and the common man alike. It can be said that he was our first ambassador abroad for he presented to the world an image of India's real strength and assets. Not that he tried to hide India's weaknesses. If you read his speeches and letters, you will find that he pointed them out time and again. He wanted to get rid of them, not hide them. He presented both sides of the picture, India's basic strength, her high ideals as well as the weaknesses, the disunity and fissiparousness, narrowmindedness and fear which held us in their grip. He thundered against these weaknesses from every platform.

Therefore, it is fitting that we should refresh our memories once again on this day, particularly about the teachings of Ramakrishna Paramahansa and Vivekananda. Both taught the same things in different ways. On the one hand, they drew attention to the highest ideals and goals that a human being could aspire to. Swami Vivekananda pointed out how, keeping these goals in view, the people can put them into practice in day to day life.

We need both in this world of ours today. So it is right that we should dedicate ourselves once again to those values.

6. The Cultural Inheritance of Rajasthan¹

I am sorry I am unable to be present at the inauguration of the United States of Rajasthan on the 30th March. This is a unique occasion bringing together in one unit many of the great and famous States of Rajasthan. These States have a history which had shed lustre on India's past. They have now, united together, a great future before them and I am happy to welcome this event. The constitution of Rajasthan as a single political and economic unit brings great opportunities to its people; it also brings great responsibilities and obligations. I hope they will shoulder these responsibilities and obligations in a worthy manner for the good and advancement of Rajasthan as well as of India.

Rajasthan has been, even during the days of India's eclipse, a centre of Indian art in its many aspects and there are many fine craftsmen there. I trust that the Government of Rajasthan will take particular care to encourage these master craftsmen and the many arts and crafts for which Rajasthan has been famous. It must not be said that with the coming of political freedom we ignored our great cultural inheritance.

1. Message on the occasion of the inauguration of the United States of Rajasthan, 28 March 1949. J.N. Collection.

7. The Need for Stadia¹

I am anxious that we should make an organized effort in India to improve health standards in every way. This effort must include the encouragement of athletics in schools, colleges and elsewhere. Government have really done very little in this respect. The attempt should be made both at the lower level in schools and at the top for training first class athletes. In order to do the latter it seems essential to have proper tracks and stadia. It may be desirable to get some competent trainers from abroad also.

1. Message, New Delhi, 1 April 1949. File No. 40(58)/49-PMS.

I welcome, therefore, the proposal to have a good stadium in Delhi and also something on a big scale in Bombay. At the present moment we have not even got proper racing tracks, except perhaps in Patiala. I do not know what the financial implications of the proposals are, but I understand that there is likely to be no great difficulty in this matter.

I hope that the meeting to be held tomorrow, which has been convened by the Health Minister,² will lead to substantial results and that steps will be taken to go ahead with some well-thought-out scheme.³ In a huge country like India it will ultimately be necessary to have a big stadium in many of the important cities, such as Calcutta, Madras etc. But to begin with we might concentrate on Delhi and Bombay. I am quite sure that the response in the country will be satisfactory and indeed enthusiastic, if we give the proper lead.

So, I send all good wishes for the meeting to be held tomorrow.

2. This was to be the first meeting of an ad-hoc committee of the National Sports Club of India at Government House, New Delhi presided over by Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, the Health Minister, and attended by Deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Patel, and others.
3. This meeting broadly discussed a scheme prepared by A.S. de Mello for the organization of the National Sports Club of India, with a stadium and park in New Delhi to be named after Nehru and costing about 30 lakhs of rupees and the other called Vallabhbhai Patel Olympic Stadium in Bombay costing nearly 20 lakhs.

8. An Indian Atmosphere in Embassies¹

Some time ago it was proposed that paintings by modern Indian artists should be purchased for our Embassies abroad. I believe a number of paintings were so purchased. Whether they were sent abroad or not, I do not know. A number of them still lie in my office room.

2. I think it would be worthwhile and more profitable from every point of view, if we send good and enlarged photographs of famous Indian buildings, sculptures, temples, etc., for display in our Embassies abroad. These would be cheaper than paintings and would bring old Indian art within the purview of people abroad. There are very fine pictures of this kind by Brunner and others.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 4 April 1949. File No. 6(47)-G I/49, p. 1/note, M.E.A., N.A.I.

3. I think our Foreign Office should try to get sets of these enlargements for presentation to each of our Embassies and Legations. They must be high class. It might be worthwhile to consult the Director General of Archaeology.

4. The purchase of paintings might be given up or at any rate suspended for the present. The average painting is at the best attractive and most of them have nothing special about them.

5. I think that all our missions abroad should be instructed to try to furnish the building they occupy so as to produce some kind of an Indian atmosphere. This does not mean that they should squat on the floor, but that the general arrangement, picture, furniture, curtains, carpets, etc., should produce, as far as possible, this Indian atmosphere. I understand that most countries try to do this in their foreign embassies. The U.K. High Commissioner in India has been allotted a very big sum of money by his Government to produce a bit of England here. We cannot afford to do that. But we should work to that end. This means that a certain policy should be pursued, which would continue even after the change of ambassadors. Naturally each Ambassador will have his own way of doing things and his own canons of taste, but this should be generally made to fit in with the wider policy of Indianization.

9. To Narendra Deva¹

New Delhi

April 11, 1949

My dear Narendra Deva,

I have just read in the Lucknow newspapers a report of a civil suit in which it appears I have been made a defendant.² The report says that I was elected by The Donors' constituency to the Court of the Lucknow University and that this election, in common with others, has been challenged.

All this has surprised me greatly. No one ever approached me or informed me about this election. I was not asked, to begin with, whether I was prepared to stand and I was not informed that I had been elected. This is a very curious procedure. If I had been asked to begin with, I would have expressed my regret and reluctance and would not have agreed to stand for election.

1. File No. 40(53)/56-PMS.

2. It was reported in the newspapers that Nehru, being one of the 27 newly elected members of the Lucknow University Court from the Donors' Constituency would be a defendant in the case filed by Prithinath Bhargava in the court of the Civil Judge, Lucknow, praying for a temporary injunction against these members.

However, I should like to resign from the Court, if I have been elected. I cannot possibly do justice to this work, however light it might be, and I think it improper for people to join organizations for forms' sake. Could you kindly convey my wishes and resignation in this matter to the Court or to the Executive Council?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

10. To Arthur E. Morgan¹

New Delhi
13 April 1949

My dear Dr. Morgan,²

I write to thank you for the very precious gift you made to me today. I can think of nothing else which I would have appreciated more than this cast of Abraham Lincoln's hand.³ The very sight of it strengthens one and reminds one of a very great man. It will rest on my study table.

It has been a great pleasure to meet you. My only regret is that our meetings were few.

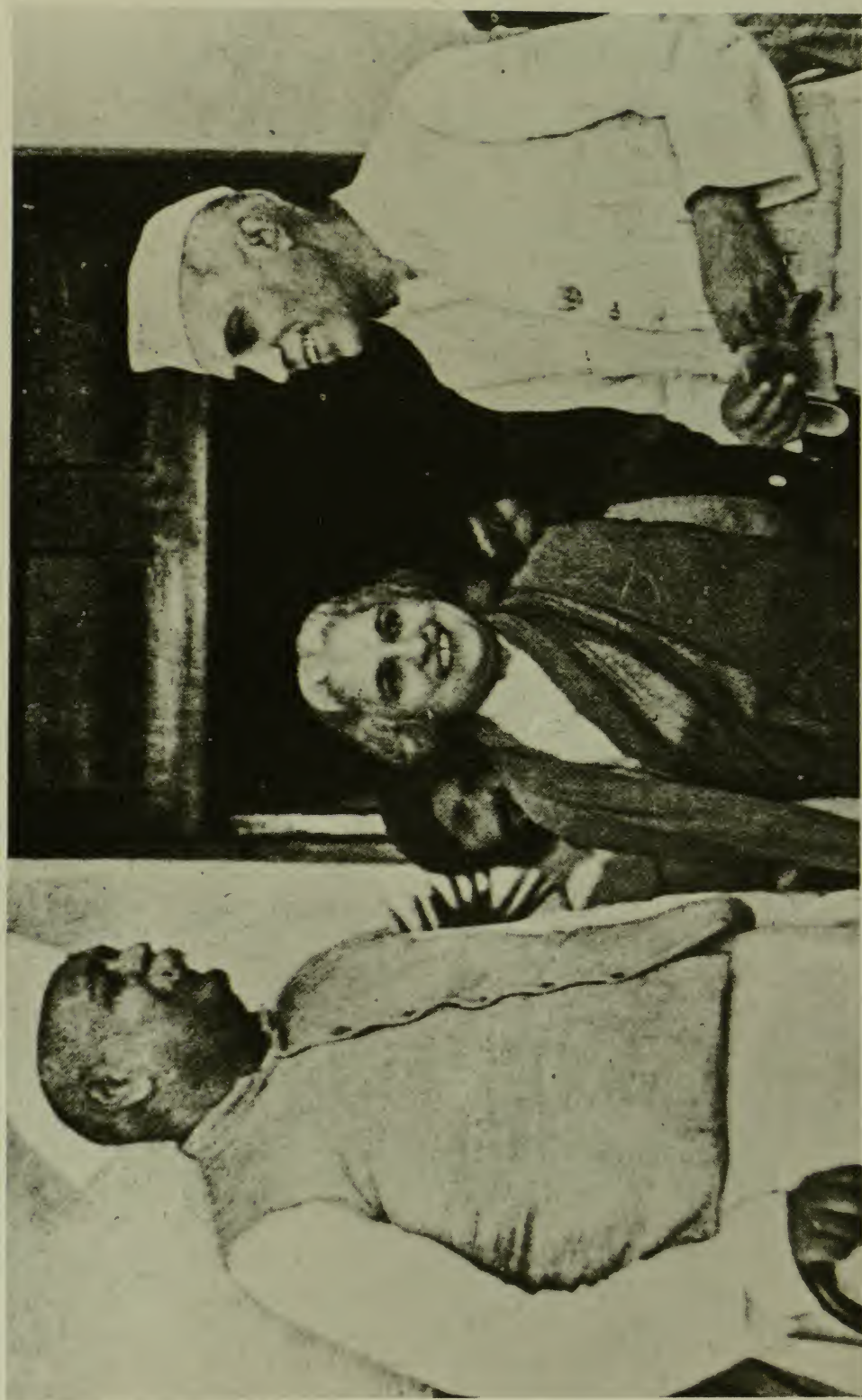
Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Arthur Ernest Morgan (1878-1975); formerly Chairman of Tennessee Valley Authority; member of the Indian University Commission at this time.
3. A bronze cast of his hand made by a French sculptor according to Lincoln's desire, was presented to Nehru on April 14.

11. The Beloved Himalayas¹

Fifteen years ago, when writing my autobiography, the thought of Manasarovar came to me. That thought had been hovering in my mind for many a year. It was

1. New Delhi, 17 April 1949. Foreword to Swami Pranavananda's book *Kailash and Manasarovar* (Calcutta, 1949).



WITH GOVIND BALLABH PANT AND VIJAYALAKSHMI PANDIT, 5 MARCH 1949



AT THE CONVOCATION OF LADY IRWIN COLLEGE, NEW DELHI, 20 MARCH 1949

something which filled me with delight and I had worked out many a plan for paying my homage to this wonder Lake of Tibet and snow-covered Kailash nearby. But those plans remained unfulfilled, for my journeys led me elsewhere and I was filled with regret that I would never reach Kailash and Manasarovar. Still the thought of them cheered my mind and I quoted in my book² some lines from Walter de la Mare:³

Yea, in my mind these mountains rise,
 Their perils dyed with evening's rose;
 And still my ghost sits at my eyes
 And thirsts for their untroubled snows.⁴

I wonder still if I shall ever visit Kailash and Manasarovar. But I can at least read about them and look at pictures of them and thus, to some extent, soothe the longing which has possessed me for so long.

And so I welcome this book which tells us so much about these mountains that I have loved and this Lake that I have dreamt about. I hope that it will lead others to undertake this journey across our beloved Himalayas to that roof of the world, where Kailash and Manasarovar are situated.

2. *An Autobiography* (London, 1936), p. 39.

3. Walter John De la Mare (1873-1956); English poet, novelist and anthologist; his writings include *Songs of Childhood* (1902), *The Return* (1910), *The Listeners* (1912), *Memoirs of a Midget* (1921), *Behold, this Dreamer* (1939), and *The Traveller* (1946).

4. This is the last stanza of a poem called 'The Mountains' which is from the collection entitled *The Listeners and other Poems* (1912).

12. On Translations of Poetry¹

I am a writer of sorts, and I am a lover of poetry. But I must confess that I have never written a line of verse. Because of this I hesitate always to criticize poetry, as I doubt my own competence to do so. I like it or I dislike it or it leaves me just cold.

1. New Delhi, 17 April 1949. Foreword to the English translation of Harivansh Rai Bachchan's *Madhushala*. The English rendering was done by Marjorie Boulton and Ramswaroop Vyas jointly.

When the request came to me to write a foreword to this translation of Shri Bachchan's² Hindi poems, I hesitated. This was not in my line at all. Then it struck me that this was something rather unusual—an English translation of modern Hindi poems. Tulsi Das has been translated and perhaps some other of the older Hindi classics, but I am not aware of any attempt to translate modern Hindi poetry. Hindi is obviously coming into its own in India and more and more modern Hindi literature will grow and will represent the thoughts and urges of the Indian people. It is desirable therefore that people, even outside India, should know something of modern Hindi, and I am glad to commend this translation.

Bachchan is a well-known Hindi poet and I like this *Madhushala*³ of his. Marjorie Boulton's⁴ translation appears to be accurate and good and does somewhat convey the essence of the original. Nothing is more difficult than to translate the poetry of one language into another. Indeed, success comes so seldom that I discourage these attempts. Nevertheless, it is necessary that the good poetry in one language should be translated into another and thus other countries and other people might be made to have a glimpse of the spirit of a nation. So I welcome this translation.

2. Harivansh Rai Bachchan (b. 1907); lecturer in English, Allahabad University, 1941-52 and 1954-55; Hindi producer, A.I.R., 1955; officer on special duty (Hindi), 1955-56; member, Rajya Sabha, 1966-72; conferred Soviet Land Nehru Award, 1968; published over 60 books including *Madhushala* (1935), *Nisha Nimantran* (1938) and his autobiography *Kya Bhulun Kya Yad Karun* (1969).
3. First published in Hindi in 1935 and translated into English as *The House of Wine* and published in 1950.
4. Marjorie Boulton (b. 1924); English poet and author; works include *The Anatomy of Poetry* (1953), *The Anatomy of Prose* (1954), *Kontralte* (in Esperanto) (1955), *Reading for Real Life* (1971); contributed to *British Esperantist* and other Esperanto magazines; conferred 'Esperanto Author of the Year' award, 1958.

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NATION-BUILDING

VII. Science

1. The Spirit of Victory¹

On the development of electric power depends the production of more national wealth. The engineers should not lose sight of the vast sociological changes taking place in India and the world and should utilize their talent in developing the power projects. We must do something now and not wait for the future alone for achievement.

The greatest need is of getting speedy results from the development of various power projects so that the national wealth can be increased and the standard of living of the masses raised. According to the short-term and long-term aspects of the projects the power experts should work for the development plans to achieve quick results.

In the development of electric power, as in every other phase of national activity, the engineers must keep in touch continuously with the evolving and progressive life of the community. Inevitably you have to think much more of the vast number of people who live in villages and small towns of India and not so much of the more sophisticated people living in larger cities.

As far as possible, there should be no gap or hiatus between what you produce in the shape of power and its utilization. Normally speaking, therefore, it is desirable to proceed stage by stage so that the power you produce is immediately translated into some kind of activity and not to have a mountain of power which is not utilized, for which you are not prepared or you may be prepared but the community is not prepared. The community is to be prepared, again, not mechanically only but mentally.

We talk vaguely about thirty five crores of India's inhabitants. It is a terrific, colossal and overwhelming number, but those very people can be a source of enormous strength if all their minds and all their activities are turned towards a certain end. We have in India a multitude of problems. We have tackled some and plenty remain, and no doubt will remain. However many knots we might unravel, more knots will come. That is the way things happen in a changing environment. We ourselves want to change the environment and achieve results.

1. Address to the All India Conference of Engineers, New Delhi, 23 February 1949. From *The Hindustan Times* and *National Herald*, 24 February 1949.

It is a battle against nature—a peaceful war, sometimes against considerable odds. But it is a battle for the benefit of the people of our country. It is a battle which we are going to win and which we are winning. The only question is how rapidly we win it. The quicker we do it the better for us. I am not interested in excuses for delay. I am interested only in a thing done. I want victory at whatever cost, and I want the spirit of victory.

Whether it is electricity or anything else, you must approach the problem with that spirit. Your technical knowledge is essential obviously because your spirit without knowledge cannot take you far, but develop the spirit and enthusiasm for a job well done.

The test of any nation or any group ultimately is how far it has got that creative spirit in it. If you look through history, you will find stages when the creative spirit in a nation is strong. You see it bubbling all over the place, in literature, in architecture and so on. Then you see the same people at a different period with the creative activity apparently coming to an end. The same people are not the same, they become bowed down, rather old, with less of the vitality and strength of youth, and gradually they decline and even become decadent.

Now we in India are living in a creative phase of our history. There is a magnificent opportunity for every individual in India to do his bit. I should like you not only yourselves to be infused with enthusiasm for this creative task, but, what is equally important, to have the capacity to enthuse others.

India today is a land of opportunity for the man who can go ahead. It may be that some able people have difficulties in finding suitable work because things have to be adjusted. But, generally speaking, India is a land of opportunity and it is going to remain a land of opportunity for every worthwhile person who can do good work. It is with this spirit that you should approach your problem, and if we all do so, we shall make such progress in this country which may well astound the world.

The activity of power engineers is fortunately a peaceful activity and should not injure anybody. Nevertheless, you should look upon it with the stress of a war emergency.

2. Atomic Research¹

Mono Mohan Das enquired how much expenditure had been incurred on atomic research so far.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The expenditure during the current financial year for research on atomic energy will be about rupees three lakhs.

Mono Mohan Das wanted to know the names of the scientists in charge of the Atomic Research Department and the location of the Department.

JN: The location of the Department is in Delhi, that is, it is a part of the Department of Scientific Research. The Atomic Energy Commissioners are Dr. H.C. Bhabha, Chairman, Dr. Bhatnagar and Dr. Krishnan.

Mono Mohan Das wanted to know if it was possible to maintain a close relation between the Atomic Research Department of India and other Commonwealth countries.

JN: This is rather a curious question for me to answer. Naturally we wish to maintain close links with other scientific organizations and other atomic energy commissions as far as possible.

H.V. Kamath asked whether the research in India was directed towards the destructive or constructive aspects of atomic energy.

JN: It is directed towards the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

H.V. Kamath enquired how the Government proposed to train scientists in nuclear fission and atomic research when the U.K., the U.S.A., and the U.S.S.R. maintained secrecy in the matter.

1. 23 March 1949. *Constituent Assembly (Legislative) Debates. Official Report*, Vol. III, Part 1, pp. 1771-1773, 18th March-7th April 1949. Extracts.

JN: There are certain parts of atomic energy research which are considered to be absolutely secret even between allied countries. There are other parts which are relatively secret, that is to say, several countries are in possession of those facts, nevertheless they are treated more or less as secret. So there are grades of secrecy: some parts which are absolutely secret, as I said, are not available to any other country and other parts which are relatively secret may be available to those who cooperate together.

Seth Govind Das wanted to know which countries were helping India in atomic energy research.

JN: That is hardly a question which it would be fitting for me to answer. When we are dealing with a number of countries and seek their cooperation one cannot mention the main countries in that way.

Tajamul Husain asked whether there was any factory for manufacturing atom bombs in India.

JN: No, Sir. We are not thinking in terms of atom bombs. We are thinking in terms of processing various minerals out of which atomic energy comes. Probably we shall be subjecting these minerals to this processing and use the energy for research work.

S.V. Krishnamoorthy Rao asked whether there was any proposal to start an atomic energy research institute in India.

JN: I do not quite understand the question. We are carrying on atomic research and this will grow. Probably the headquarters of the research will be in Bombay.

Lakshmi Kanta Maitra wanted to know if the Government of India was financing the study and research of nuclear physics in the different universities in India.

JN: Yes, Sir.

Maitra enquired whether any other universities, apart from the University Science College, Calcutta, were financed by the Government to carry on research work in nuclear physics.

JN: I cannot give the list of names but I believe there are some universities where such research is being carried on and they are helped by the Government of India.

V.C. Kesava Rao enquired whether the Government was intending to invite German scientists to assist in atomic research.

JN: There is no present intention of any particular person like that being invited but we are continually thinking in terms not merely in respect of atomic energy but of scientific work generally—of inviting eminent scientists from abroad.

Mono Mohan Das asked whether India had any cyclotron or any such instrument for atomic fission or for breaking up the atom.

JN: I know there is one cyclotron in Calcutta. I am not quite clear whether there is any such apparatus anywhere else in India.

3. Science and Progress¹

Science, a scientific approach to problems and a scientific outlook, have to be developed if India has to progress in the modern world. Science is a search for truth. It is a rational method of looking at things in their true perspective. If we cannot march with the march of science we shall be left behind.

We may have plans, schemes and so many 'isms'. We may even accept the motive force of science but what is most essential is to understand the fundamental principles of science. I have participated in this function because I believe that now the attention of all in India should be concentrated on science. There will be retrogression if we do not develop this mental attitude.

1. Speech at the foundation of the Palaeobotany Institute at Lucknow, 3 April 1949. Based on reports in *The Hindustan Times* and *Hindusthan Standard*, 4 April 1949.

The world is changing and people have to keep pace with those changes. The questions of today have got to be studied to find answers. While fossils provided a valuable study and a link with the past, the past alone cannot be the basis of our thought and action for tomorrow.

The modern world claims much advance in the realm of science, but much progress has yet to be made and it seems that we are yet at the threshold of real scientific knowledge. India has yet to traverse a long distance.

Politicians think that they alone run the whole show of the world, and that the world will topple down if they withdraw from the scene. But they are so much entangled with various problems that they find little time to consider the fundamental issues. Those who have devoted their lives to the pursuit of science are really blessed.

The role of scientists in the present-day world is noble and great and politicians cannot ignore it. The world is passing through a revolution, not a revolution through bloodshed and violence which is the conception of some young men. And it is necessary that we keep pace with it. The study of science is an approach to the world's problems, it is the basic motive force.

Young people should not use slogans and resolutions as a means for achieving their petty objectives. They should contribute to the development of the country. Work is awaiting them and they must not be found wanting.

We think in terms of opening new industries by indenting machines from foreign countries like America and England. And I think there will be no scarcity of money for this but the fundamental thing which is needed for an all-round industrial development is technicians and technique.

Mere installation of machines for industrial purposes is not industrialization. Machines have got to be understood like living things. You can be a good motor driver if you know the mechanism of your motor.

Earlier speakers have talked of India's pride in having the first Institute of Palaeobotany, but said nothing about what it is, though, I too, can say little on the subject. Palaeobotany is connected with geology, minerology and botany. I do not know much about it but I had an interest in botanical science, so I used to attend lectures of the Professor of Botany in Cambridge.

Every step towards science is beneficial for the country. I congratulate Dr. and Mrs. Birbal Sahni² who have donated their entire property and collections of curios and fossils for establishing this unique scientific research institute in India.

2. (1891-1949); Founder-Director of the Institute of Palaeobotany, Lucknow and Vice-President of National Institute of Science, 1935; received Barclay medal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, 1936; Fellow of the Royal Society, 1936; President, National Academy of Science, 1937-1938 and 1942-1944; worked on extinct plants, fossil flora and their geological bearings.

NATION-BUILDING

VIII. The Problem of Language

1. To Ravi Shankar Shukla¹

New Delhi
February 19, 1949

My dear Shuklaji,

I have read a report of a speech you recently delivered at Jubbulpore regarding the national language.² I am sorry to notice in it a statement to the effect that those Muslims who are incapable of taking kindly to the *Rashtra Bhasha* can go to Pakistan. This is an unkind and, if I may say so, an unwise remark which brings down the language issue to the communal plane. This is not a matter of Muslim or Hindu but a vital national question, quite regardless of anyone's religion. It affects all the areas in India where Hindi is not spoken. There is already a revolt in the South on this issue.

But quite apart from the issue of language, any reference of this kind to Muslims or others in the country seems to me unfortunate and brings the communal element in our arguments which we should avoid.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Addressing Congress workers in Jabalpur on 17 February, Shukla advised the Indian Muslims to forget the two-nation theory, and to accept Hindi as India's national language. Those who could not do so, he added, could opt for Pakistan as their homeland.

2. To Mirza M. Ismail¹

New Delhi
February 23, 1949

My dear Sir Mirza,

Thank you for your letter of the 19th.² I am glad you agreed with what I said in my article on the language question.³ One has to proceed rather cautiously in this matter, because of the passions aroused.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Mirza Ismail expressed his happiness with Nehru's article on the language question published on 13 February and his full agreement with Nehru's views on the national language.
3. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 9, pp. 129-134.

3. To Mathooradas Tricumjee¹

New Delhi
February 23, 1949

My dear Mathooradas Bhai,²

Thank you for your letter.³ On the whole I agree with what you have said. I stated in my article that the dominant script inevitably would be Devanagari. I should not like to go further than this because this might land us in some difficulties in particular areas of India. For instance, Kashmir where at the present moment the dominant script is Urdu. We cannot therefore say that every Indian in the whole of India must necessarily learn Devanagari. In effect, however, in all the provinces of India and probably nearly all the States, Devanagari is bound to be the official script and once this process begins, it will go fast and affect the whole country.

I would rather not use the word national script. I prefer official script.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 33(26)/48-PMS.
2. Mathooradas Tricumjee (1893-1952); associate of Mahatma Gandhi; Mayor of Bombay, 1940; imprisoned several times during the freedom movement; author of *Marukunja* and *Bapuli Prasadi* (in Gujarati).
3. Mathooradas Tricumjee in his letter of 19 February 1949 referred to Nehru's article on the national language and wrote that the "national script can be only one and that is Devanagari. As no option is proposed to be given to regional scripts, no option should be given to Urdu script in the national field" for this might give rise to "separateness."

4. Views on National Language¹

Pandit Mukut Bihari Lal Bhargava asked whether the Prime Minister's views expressed on the question of national language at the Osmania University were his personal views or of the Government of India on the subject?

1. New Delhi, 24 February 1949. *Constituent Assembly Debates (Official Report)* Vol. II, Part I, 18th Feb-17th March 1949, pp. 1027-1028.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is not clear to what part of my speech² the honourable member refers. The views expressed by me were certainly my own. The question has not been considered by the Government of India in any detail, but the broad approach of the Government is as indicated by me.

Seth Govind Das said that it was difficult for the public to understand whether he expressed his views as Prime Minister or as an individual.

JN: It is sometimes difficult for me to make that out either.

Seth Govind Das asked if the Cabinet had come to any conclusions in the matter of national language.

JN: I have just said in reply to this question that the Cabinet has not considered this specific question in any detail.

Seth Govind Das asked if the Prime Minister had said that this matter would be left to the Constituent Assembly and the Government or the legislature would not decide the matter until it was fully dealt with in the Constituent Assembly.

JN: No, Sir. I am not aware of that. I never said any such thing. What I said was, so far as the Constitution is concerned, the provisions in it will naturally be dealt with by the Constituent Assembly, which is a very different thing from other aspects of the question.

Seth Govind Das wanted to know whether the Prime Minister knew that certain amendments to Article 99 of the Constitution had been sent by the members of the Constituent Assembly, which related to the question of national language and that the question was to be decided by the Constituent Assembly as a whole.

JN: Yes, Sir. I am fully aware of that fact.

2. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 9, pp. 115-117.

5. Hindustani for English¹

I am glad to be participating in the Bengali Literary Conference. Culture is a thing where there is room for cooperation for everybody and I congratulate the Bengalees for having organized a literary conference to which they have invited representatives of all Indian literatures. This is right and proper, and the most satisfactory way of dealing with problems. In the field of politics clashes are almost inevitable and an element of competition necessarily creeps in. But in the field of culture there is no room for competition but only cooperation. Here contributions by any individual or linguistic group does not in any way interfere with or minimize the contributions of others, but on the contrary enriches the common heritage.

I am glad to come in to this atmosphere of culture and find a spirit of cooperation, especially as at present some people have imported a narrow chauvinistic outlook even into the question of culture.

I shall give only one example from the controversy over Hindi, Urdu and Hindustani. The whole quarrel seems to be pointless. But even supposing it is Urdu why should any one object to the development of Urdu language and literature? After all Urdu is an Indian language which has been developed in one special region of India, namely, the United Provinces, and its chief centres are Delhi, Lucknow and Allahabad. Nowhere is it spoken outside India and the people, who have developed this language and its literature, are all Indians. Its basic structure and a large part of its vocabulary are also derived from Indian sources. It, therefore, seems to me rather odd that the language which is essentially a product of India should be opposed by some Indians while Pakistan, which has now become a separate State, has accepted it even though it is not the language of anybody in Pakistan. The languages of Pakistan are Punjabi, Sindhi, Pushtu and Bengali. They might try to learn Urdu but Urdu in the form in which it has flourished will always remain something essentially Indian. I fail to understand why anyone should object if this language develops in due course.

The whole thing appears to me odd and a show of mere political narrowness. I find evidence of it from the fact that those who are opposed to Urdu do nothing to advance the cause of Hindi. Similarly in the past I have found that some of the protagonists of Urdu are not so much concerned about the development of Urdu language and literature but seem to be interested only in keeping down Hindi. Such an attitude whether of orthodox protagonists of Hindi or Urdu seems to be foolish.

1. Speech at a Conference of Prabasi Banga Sahitya Sammelan, New Delhi, 14 March 1949. Based on report from *The Hindu*, 15 March and *Hindusthan Standard*, 16 March 1949.

For the real way of propagating one's language is to create literature in it and develop it so that other persons feel attracted to study it. Thus language should be developed from the cultural point of view and not from the narrow political point of view.

Take the example of English. It is one of the most vital languages of the world and even today it is expanding. Its strength lay in two great traditions, first, the authorized version of the Bible, which has set the standard of English prose, and secondly, the work of Shakespeare, which has so profoundly influenced the development of the language that even today no educated man can use the language without borrowing from Shakespeare.

Protagonists of language in India should follow that example of English and build their language and literature in such a way as to give it a stamp and character of its own and make it so attractive that even people from foreign countries feel interested in it.

On the question of the medium of instruction I can say that the Congress had decided long time ago that only the mother tongue can be the medium of instruction. In the past, people had complained and rightly so, that the burden of English taxed the intelligence and imposed too great a strain upon the energy and intellect of young children. Today if somebody tries to impose a language other than the mother tongue on small children, the same argument against English would be equally applicable. But then again Indian languages are so distributed that it is very difficult to divide sharply the people in border areas on a linguistic basis. It is inevitable that in such areas different languages should be spoken and any attempt to bring uniformity would only cause dissension and perhaps lead to new conflicts amongst people. If, for example, in the border areas between Bengal and Assam or between Tamil and Telugu, one group insisted that all children must be taught only in their language the people speaking the other language would perhaps be forced to migrate. We have seen terrible effects of such kinds of displacements of people and does anyone want that there should be any repetition of such incidents again?

Then the way in which the demand for linguistic provinces is being pressed, ill-will between the provinces is growing and subsequently this will lead to many more intricate problems. India has, since ages past, the unique quality of unity in diversity. Because of this, the country though politically down-trodden, was able to maintain its inherent force of *Sahitya*² and culture. I feel sorry that at a time when India has become politically free and is being consolidated into one political unit, the same forces are reacting and trying to reverse the course of events. Promotion of one language does not mean the suppression of others. All the languages will be given equal opportunity to grow. But for various reasons Hindustani is bound to become the official language of India. This does not,

however, mean that any of the provincial languages should suffer. They also must flourish and as I have already stated instruction must be imparted through mother tongue only. But at the same time there should be one language for inter-provincial intercourse. There should be a common language with one script and that script must be Devanagari.

In the past English had served such a purpose and even today it is serving it. Whatever may be said, English will continue to be the common language for some time more. A resolution in the Constituent Assembly will not make a State language and even if stringent resolutions are passed these cannot make Hindustani overnight the language of administration. Nevertheless, the time must come when English should be replaced by an Indian language and this in my opinion will have to be Hindustani. There are, however, two things which should be remembered in the evolution of Hindustani. First of all it must take in all words which have already come into common use. Whether the word came from English, French, Arabic, Persian, Russian or German origin, a word commonly understood must be retained, and no attempts must be made to substitute it by some artificial, mechanical and high falutin word. Even a villager understands the words "station" or "motor" and any attempt to coin a Sanskrit synonym for them is foolish.

Language must be flexible and expansive and must always grow. A language, if it is restrictive and isolated, will prove to be artificial and subsequently dead. English with its tremendous vocabulary is yet accepting on an average about 5000 words a year. Hindustani also should show the same kind of expansiveness and not reject anything but try to assimilate everything.

Many of the scientific terms have become a part of international currency. Words like "oxygen", "nitrogen" or similar other terms should be taken over. Any attempt to replace them by some word of Sanskrit or Arabic origin would not only be useless but it would impose an unnecessary burden upon Indian students. They have to learn these international terms if they want to keep their contact with the world outside. There is therefore no purpose in rejecting such terms in favour of artificial constructions.

I know that today there is a narrow outlook which wants to reject things from outside. This is one of the unfortunate effects of the partition of India. I am not referring to economic and political losses but even more than that. The partition of the country has resulted in cultural losses as well.

There is a tendency towards narrowness and exclusiveness. I am, however, confident that this is only a passing phase, for the genius of India is in the power of synthesis. Throughout the ages India had accepted freely whatever the world had to give and the peculiar contribution of India to the civilization of the world is the development of a spirit of toleration and synthesis. This is not only of high spiritual value but also is the wisest policy and I hope that this cultural exchange between literary writers of different regions of India will contribute towards the maintenance and development of the same wise and tolerant outlook.

6. To Raghu Vira¹

New Delhi
March 24, 1949

Dear Dr. Raghu Vira,

Your letter of March 22nd.

When I said that no language was nearer to Sanskrit than Persian, obviously I was referring to foreign languages and not to the daughter languages of Sanskrit in India. The reference was a casual one to show that there is a great deal in common between all the languages derived from Sanskrit and Persian, far more so than with other foreign languages.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

7. To G.S. Gupta¹

New Delhi
March 25, 1949

My dear Guptaji,

Thank you for your letter of the 7th March.² I am afraid it is a little difficult to discuss the language question in a brief letter. I have indicated my views generally. I do not myself think that there is any great difference left now over this question. Nevertheless there is a very marked difference in approach and perhaps in the ideal to be aimed at. For my part, I want as few decisions to be taken as

1. File No. 33(32)/48-PMS.
2. G.S. Gupta favoured Hindi, based on Sanskrit, as the national language, and wished Urdu to be discarded as a language of the Centre because it drew from Persian and Arabic. He did not even favour Hindustani which included a number of Urdu words. He also favoured Devanagari to Urdu script.

possible. Any such decisions now would rather tend to limit and circumscribe our language.

The script offers little difficulty. Hindi is bound to be our major script. But I think Urdu should be recognized as one of India's scripts.

It is the substance of the language that counts and that should be interfered with as little as possible. Indeed no law or statute can lay down the substance of a language, although educationally one can emphasize a certain argument. I do not personally agree with the argument that you have used in your letter. But we need not go into arguments. This should be a matter for a few scholars who should determine a number of simple words which everyone should know and a number of technical words. For the rest, freedom should be given to everybody and the language will shape itself.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. To Dwarka Prasad Misra¹

New Delhi
March 25, 1949

My dear Dwarka Prasadji,

I am sorry for the delay in acknowledging your letter. Thank you for sending me a report of your speech on the language question.²

I am inclined to agree with you that the difference of opinion on this issue is not so great as some people imagine. There is, I believe, a certain difference in approach and perhaps in the ultimate ideal. But factually the difference is very little and should be easily capable of adjustment.

I have been rather surprised and distressed at the usual attitude taken up by strong advocates of Hindi. In fact they have rather spoiled a very good case by

1. File No. 33(26)/48-PMS.

2. In a speech at the All India Rashtra Bhasha Pracharak Sammelan, D.P. Misra said that if the question of national language and script be referred to him, he would do full justice to the issue. Disagreement on language question, he said, had already been narrowed down. He urged early replacement of the Roman script and English language by Devanagari script and Hindi language.

overemphasis and aggressive language. Personally I am quite clear that if any language is to grow, we must not put it in a strait jacket and allow it to develop according to its genius.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. On Common Technical Terms¹

It has now become an urgent matter for us to take some steps to compile a list of technical terms to be used in our languages. There is a tendency for each province to prepare its own list. If this kind of thing continues there will be complete chaos and education and knowledge will suffer greatly. Whatever variation may be in our provincial languages, there is no reason why we should not make an attempt to have, as far as possible, common technical terms.

I understand that the Education Ministry has already given thought to this matter and proposes to appoint a committee for the purpose. I trust they will take early steps to this end. In appointing this committee, the terms of reference will naturally have a considerable importance and, even more so, the personnel of the committee. The matter will have to be brought up before the Cabinet.

I think the Cabinet should give some indication to the committee as to how it should proceed in the matter. My suggestion is that this indication should be somewhat on the following lines:

(1) It is desirable to have, as far as possible, a single set of technical and scientific terms to be used in all the languages of India. Naturally this cannot be done completely because there are some words of a technical nature in common use in various languages and they differ from each other. Nevertheless if a single list is recommended this will gradually come into use all over the country.

(2) In choosing technical words, as far as possible, simple and commonly accepted words should be used, and difficult and complicated words should be

1. Note to the Minister of Education, 29 March 1949. J.N. Collection.

avoided. This may not always be possible in the case of abstract ideas and the like. This should certainly be possible in regard to the terms in common use in various trades, crafts, etc.

(3) Where English words have come into common use, they should be bodily adopted, such as station, motor, valve, carburator, etc. In regard to scientific words, as far as possible, they should also be bodily taken from the English, such as oxygen, hydrogen, etc. It is specially important that we should adhere as far as possible to the international language of science, as otherwise we shall be cut off from the world of science. Any committee that should be appointed would presumably have educationists. It should naturally have at least one, or possibly more scientists. It may perhaps be desirable to appoint a separate committee or sub-committee for scientific terms.

These are just some indications which might be given in the summary prepared for Cabinet.

I suggest that letters be written from the Education Ministry to various Provincial Governments informing them that the Central Government is taking this step to prepare a list of technical and scientific terms so as to bring about a certain uniformity for the whole of India. Also asking them to send any list that they might have prepared.

10. The Gandhian Approach to the Language Problem¹

Although I have to make preparations for my journey to London, I felt it necessary to be present here on this occasion in view of the importance of the work for which this Institute is meant.

Sometimes, doubts assail me whether the type of education or the products of education one sees are really good. In fact sometimes it is definitely bad. That,

1. Speech on laying the foundation stone of Central Institute of Education, Delhi University, 18 April 1949. Based on reports from *The Bombay Chronicle* and *The Hindustan Times*, 19 April 1949.

of course, does not mean that education is bad but it does mean that something has gone wrong in the process of education and that has to be put right. The deterioration in the educational standards amongst teachers and students is because of the recent events in the country. This can be arrested but it is only possible when the seriousness of the situation is fully realized.

In India, unfortunately, an amazing importance is attached to passing examinations and getting degrees, probably because in the past the avenues open to young men in India were very limited and the passport to government service was a degree.

Thus university degrees become more and more important here than anywhere else in the world. The object was not to train one's mind or to make one more capable or efficient but just to get a degree somehow by hook or by crook.

The other day when a very distinguished person, a member of the government, visited a university, a request was made on behalf of the students of that university that to celebrate the visit, more people should be made to pass the examination than usual. This is a very extraordinary state of affairs. A holiday being declared in favour of such a visit is natural but to pass students who have failed will be very extraordinary.

This is a most dangerous attitude because the progress of any country depends on the maintenance of high standards. Unless there are a sufficient number of first-rate people the nation would rapidly become a second-rate country. Education is not intended for passing examinations and holding degrees as a passport for entry into government service, but for character building and development of personality.

There is excitement here and excited speeches are delivered occasionally as to whether the national language should be Hindi or Hindustani. Urdu is hardly referred to and has dropped out of the race. This language question is eminently a question which people, wise in languages and wise in other things should determine. There is no essential difference in this matter. It is a question of content, name, some emphasis this way or that way. I do not myself understand how a language can be made by a statute or legislation. It may be encouraged, of course, by an educational process but living languages grow from the people, not from small literary coteries but from the common people as well as from the educated people at the top.

I would personally hate to confine a language in a strait jacket. Apart from that, much can be said on both sides in this argument that is taking place, but what distresses me is the way the argument is carried on, the narrow-minded way in which people talk and discuss and try to force their views down the throats of others who do not agree with them.

Everybody knows that obviously Hindi is the most powerful language of India. Nobody can challenge its place in India but it is the misfortune of Hindi that it has collected round it some advocates who continually do tremendous injury to its cause by advocating it in a wrong way. It is extraordinary how some of the

advocates of Hindi have succeeded often enough in prejudicing Hindi in the eyes of others, some people because they have proceeded in the wrong way and some people because they have shown how narrow-minded they are, how it is not that they love Hindi so much, but they hate other things. Hatred is not a constructive force or a force that should come into play in such a question.

Their approach is a negative approach. Hindi is bound to grow and take a dominant place in India. Let us build it, but they go further and deny this language or that language or deny a certain content to that language, Hindustani or Hindi whatever you call it. That is not the right approach. It is a bad approach and it seems to me somehow to reflect that narrow-minded mentality out of which communalism has grown in this country. If we bring in that narrow-minded or communal approach, it does harm to our mental outlook.

Even in this question of language, very wisely Gandhiji showed us a way which was deeply rooted in the minds of the people, as all his things were. He was a man of the people. He could not think in terms of a few erudite people sitting at the top of some literary academies.

Some of us in the last 30 years or more grew up under the Gandhian tradition. I do not suppose we lived up to it. We were rather feeble and we often strayed from the right path. Nevertheless, we were powerfully influenced by it and it is rather painful and distressing to see how people are shouting out the name of Gandhiji quite casually and without any serious thought of things which Gandhiji certainly opposed all his life and which are contrary to all that he said.

11. On the Language Question¹

I am glad the Navajivan Trust² is publishing my essay on the language question. This is not because I attach any great value to that essay, but because I want this subject to be considered on the merits and not on the plane on which it is being normally considered.

1. Prime Minister's Secretariat File, Vol. II, 5 December 1948 to 31 December 1949. (This undated foreword was not published).
2. Navajivan Trust was founded in 1929 by Mahatma Gandhi for educating people of Gujarat through the medium of the Gujarati language.

I do not look upon this question as a contest between Hindi or Hindustani or Urdu. That is a wrong approach which befogs our minds and brings in extraneous considerations. Again, to say, as some people say, that we talk of Hindustani because we are afraid of some old Muslim League elements in the country, is also an absurdity.

It seems forgotten that Gandhiji and the Congress have stood in the past for a certain policy in regard to our languages. That policy may be right or may be wrong and there is no reason why people should follow it blindly simply because it was an old policy. Nevertheless the fact that Gandhiji did attach importance to a certain policy and the Congress supported him in that, is of importance and should at least make us give earnest thought to it.

Has anything happened meanwhile to make us change that policy? Of course, much has happened in the last two years. There is the creation of Pakistan and all that followed in the shape of huge migrations and exchange in population. That, to my mind, merits consideration, but does not lead me to a contrary conclusion. Owing to this change, the pressure of what might be called the Urdu-speaking population has become far smaller. There is, in no sense, a real conflict left about it. It becomes all the more incumbent on us, therefore, as this is a vital issue to see that every aspect of the question is fully considered. Considering all this, I have myself somewhat changed my original opinion. But basically I feel that the approach should be the same as it used to be.

I would repeat this is not a question of Hindi versus Hindustani or Urdu. Nor is it a question of Hindus versus Muslims. Our country has a number of highly developed languages and several scripts. We have decided to encourage these great provincial languages. Personally I hope that a common script will be evolved for most of these provincial languages. That script, presumably, will be Hindi. But here, as elsewhere, there should be no compulsion and only gentle encouragement should be given. Compulsion in language or script is fatal. A language cannot be a hot-house growth, or put in a pot which impedes its growth. We want no pot-grown language, but a noble tree spreading out its roots freely into the soil and its branches into the free air.

If provincial languages are to be allowed free scope, as they must, surely Urdu, including its script, must also be allowed free scope, wherever there is sufficient demand for it. Urdu, it must be remembered, is a rich heritage of India, grown and developed in this country, though no doubt influenced, as languages are, in many ways from other lands. Urdu belongs to no other country apart from India. It is India's alone and, if we suppressed it or discouraged it, we lose something precious and worthwhile and thereby impoverish our heritage.

Leaving Urdu free to develop, I would endeavour, gently of course and without compulsion, to make it more Indian in thought and structure and to approximate more and more to Hindi.

It must be remembered that it is our fundamental policy to teach children in their mother-tongue, provided there are a sufficient number of them to make this feasible. Whatever that mother-tongue might be, whether it is Hindi or Bengali or Gujarati or Marathi, or Tamil or Telugu or any other provincial languages, primary education must be provided.

I do not think it is generally feasible to compel children to know two scripts. To some extent this will have to be done if, as I think it is probable, the Hindi script becomes the dominant script of the country. Children learning other scripts like Bengali, Urdu, etc., will presumably have to learn the Hindi script also in order to keep in touch with all-India activities.

As for the national language, it is bound to be primarily based on what might be called Hindi. Personally I do not understand a national language being laid down by statute. It grows and becomes automatically the language of the nation as a whole. That language, in the existing state of affairs, must necessarily approximate to Hindi and would normally have the Hindi script. The content of that language, however, should be carefully watched so that it keeps in touch with the masses and with the various cultural elements that exist in the country. Therefore, it must be a simple and widespread language which is vital and has the elements of growth in it and which can draw sustenance from other sources, including foreign sources. It is this language which Gandhiji wanted to encourage. He called it Hindustani. The name does not matter much, it is the content that matters.

Technical terms must first of all be such as are more or less in common use, to whatever language they may belong. Those technical terms from English which are in common use should be bodily incorporated in our language. An attempt should be made to draw up lists of these technical terms which should be common all over India. It would be fatal to have different words in different provinces. That would impede the growth both of knowledge and of the language.

In spite of the argument about it, I think that there is a great deal of common ground even between the so-called extremists in this matter. It is the approach, that is different and that causes controversy. What I regret most is the communal approach which is, apart from being objectionable in itself, a definitely narrowing approach, which kills a language. The protagonists of Urdu in the old days had this narrow approach. The protagonists of Hindi now appear to have much the same approach. Why they should have this, I cannot make out. They have a clear field to develop their language according to its genius and the wishes of the people; why then this frantic desire to legislate a language into existence?

Pakistan has adopted Urdu as its language. It is open to them to do this or anything else, although by doing so they are probably injuring the cause of the majority of their inhabitants, especially in East Bengal. Oddly enough, no part of Pakistan is really the home of Urdu, although certain rather impure forms of Urdu may have been used there. The home of Urdu has been the Delhi-U.P. area, and it is not only the Muslims of these areas who value that heritage but innumerable Hindus also.

NATION-BUILDING
IX. Linguistic Provinces

1. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
February 26, 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

The decision of the Bombay Legislative Assembly in favour of the creation of a Maharashtra Province, including Bombay city,² has brought matters to a head. I have no doubt that this decision will create a feeling of instability in Bombay and even business might suffer. I think the sooner some kind of Government policy is announced in regard to this the better. The best course would be for the A.I.C.C. Sub-Committee on Linguistic Provinces³ to prepare its report and publish it.⁴ Government may then accept its principles or at any rate express its general agreement with them. I am afraid all of us are terribly busy. None the less, we have to take this matter in hand as early as possible.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 6, p. 185.
2. On 24 February 1949, the Bombay Legislative Assembly decided by 67 votes to one that the city of Bombay must belong to the Province of Maharashtra.
3. Formed at the Jaipur Congress in December 1948, with Vallabhbhai Patel, Pattabhi Sitaramayya and Jawaharlal Nehru as the three members.
4. The Report was prepared and published on 1 April 1949.

2. To S.K. Ganguly¹

New Delhi
March 25, 1949

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your² letter of the 16th March forwarding a copy of a resolution in regard to the readjustment of the boundary of West Bengal. It is suggested in this resolution that a deputation should wait on the Committee of the A.I.C.C. in regard to linguistic provinces.

1. File No. 7(67)/48-PMS.
2. Secretary, New Bengal Association, Calcutta.

While we would normally be glad to receive any such deputation, I doubt if a deputation at present on this subject will serve any useful purpose. Whatever the merits of the proposal regarding the readjustment of the West Bengal boundary might be, the question does not come up before our Committee. If and when the matter is to be considered, we shall gladly give you every opportunity to be heard.

Yours truly,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Linguistic Provinces¹

In June 1948 the President of the Constituent Assembly of India appointed a Commission to examine and report on the formation of new provinces of Andhra, Karnataka, Kerala and Maharashtra. The Chairman of this Commission was Shri S.K. Dar.² This Commission³ presented its report on the eve of the Jaipur Congress. The Congress thereupon appointed the Committee⁴ of which we are members, to consider the question of linguistic provinces and "to review the position and to examine the question in the light of the decisions taken by the Congress in the past and the requirements of the existing situation, (i) in view of the report of the Linguistic Provinces Commission, appointed by the President of the Constituent Assembly, and (ii) the new problems that have arisen out of the achievement of independence."

1. Draft prepared by Nehru on 26 March 1949 and accepted by the Linguistic Provinces Committee appointed at the Jaipur Congress. President's Secretariat File No. 205-66/47.
2. S.K. Dar (1884-1971); joined High Court Bar, Allahabad, 1910; Standing Counsel, Government of U.P., 1937; appointed Additional Judge, Allahabad High Court, 1940-44; Chairman, Linguistic Provinces Commission, 1948-49.
3. Appointed by the President of the Indian Constituent Assembly on 16 June 1948 with S.K. Dar as Chairman, 2 other members and 9 associate members to examine and report on the formation of the new provinces of Andhra, Karnataka, Kerala and Maharashtra.
4. See *ante*, letter to Sardar Patel, 26 February 1949, fn. 3.

The Congress resolution referred to above refers both to the past policy of the Congress in this matter and to the new problems that have arisen, in other words, the Congress wanted us to consider how far the old policy of the Congress was affected by the new problems and the existing situation in the country.

The old policy of the Congress, repeated on many occasions, was clearly in favour of the formation of linguistic provinces. To some extent the Congress had given effect to this principle in its own constitution, by the formation of Andhra, Kerala, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Gujarat, so far as the Congress organization was concerned. It had also formed the Sind Congress Province⁵ long before Sind was constituted into a separate province. It might be noted that in dividing up existing provinces into linguistic areas for Congress organizational purpose, the city of Bombay was kept as a separate unit and a Provincial Congress Committee for Bombay City had been formed and still exists.

The Congress had thus given the seal of its approval to the general principle of linguistic provinces. It was not faced with the practical application of this principle and hence it had not considered all the implications and consequences that arose from this practical application. There had, however, been a persistent demand and agitation for the formation of Andhra and the Karnataka Provinces.⁶ The Congress approval of this principle was partly due to the artificial manner in which existing provinces had been created by the British power in India. It was chiefly due to a desire to have, as far as possible, homogeneous cultural units which would presumably advance more rapidly because of this homogeneity.

It is clear that in giving effect to this principle a great many difficulties of a far-reaching character have to be faced. Whatever the origin of these provinces, and how artificial they may have been, a century or so of political, administrative and to some extent economic unity in each of the existing provincial areas had produced a certain stability and a certain tradition, and any change in this would naturally have considerable upsetting effect. It would have certain far-reaching consequences, political, economic, financial and administrative. These reasons of course were not necessarily enough for us to go back on, what had long been considered, a basic principle of the Congress. But these reasons could not be ignored, just as the course of history with all that had resulted from it could not be ignored. In the consideration of this problem, all these factors had to be kept in mind and balanced with each other.

5. Sind was recognized as a separate Congress circle by the A.I.C.C. on 6th October 1917.
6. Since 1913 there was a movement in Andhradesa to recognize Andhra as a separate linguistic province. In 1915 the Calcutta Congress recognized it as a separate Congress circle. Attempts were made to voice the need and demand for a separate Kannada speaking province in the legislatures of Bombay and Madras since 1921.

But what we have to consider even more are, as the Congress resolution says, the new problems that have arisen since the achievement of independence. That independence was accompanied by a partition of the country and tremendous upheavals which shook the entire fabric of the State. Anti-social forces grew and assumed serious proportions just at a time when the closest unity was essential. A narrow provincialism became a menace to the progress and development of our great country. The Indian States underwent a tremendous sea-change into something new. Many of them were merged and lost their identity, though their internal structure underwent a change. The whole map of India was transformed. All these processes have already proceeded far and made a great difference to India. They are still continuing and the final picture has not wholly emerged yet.

Thus ever since the achievement of independence, we have been passing through an exceedingly dynamic stage of our country's existence; we have faced perils and dangers such as few countries have experienced in their initial stages of their freedom; we have tackled problems of great magnitude; and we have struggled against narrow-mindedness and faction as well as the more serious anti-social elements of society. Whether the result of our labours has been satisfactory or not, the future historian will have to decide. It is, however indispensable that if these changes have to be fully exploited in the country's interests, we must consolidate the gains and this must be done as quickly as possible. Nor can there be any doubt that these new problems that have arisen since August 1947 have made a vast difference to India. We have to adjust all our thinking and our activity to the new state of India and the problems of today. There can be no greater error than to think of today in terms of yesterday, or to seek to solve today's problems in terms of yesterday's.

It becomes incumbent upon us, therefore, to view the problem of linguistic provinces in the context of today. That context demands, above everything, the consolidation of India and her freedom, the progressive solution of her economic problems in terms of the masses of her people, the promotion of unity in India and of the close cooperation among the various provinces and States in most spheres of activity. It demands further stern discouragement of communalism, provincialism, and all other separatist disruptive tendencies. The achievement of political freedom for India and the integration that has come about do not mean the end of our labours or the toning down of that vivid patriotic sentiment which gave life and strength to our struggle for freedom. Apart from the fact that freedom, in its political context, is not broad enough and has to be enlarged in the economic domain and can only then be called true freedom for the people, the preservation of even this political freedom is an urgent and ever-present necessity. If we cease to be vigilant and allow our minds to drift to other channels, we shall not only do an ill-service to India, but might also imperil the very freedom which the past and the present generations have achieved after tremendous sacrifices.

This is the fundamental basis for the consideration of every problem in India and we can only consider the problem of linguistic provinces on this basis. All else, however, important and however desirable, have a lesser priority.

The partition of India, resulting in the formation of Pakistan, did grievous injury to this country. That injury was obvious enough in many ways and it upset the whole structure of the State and of our economy in a hundred ways. Both in India and in Pakistan these grievous consequences followed and it is only slowly that we are recovering from these deep wounds to the body, mind and spirit of India. This partition has led us to become wary of anything that tends to separate and divide. It is true there can be no real comparison between this partition and the linguistic regrouping of India. But it is also true that in the existing fluid state of India, even small things in themselves may lead to evil consequences and let loose forces which do injury to the unity of India.

The administrative structure today is sadly depleted in strength and personnel. The main services have had to stand the double shock of loss of European manpower and transfer of a considerable proportion to Pakistan; they are in the process of reconstruction and renovation. We are battling with the problem of inflation and economic reconstruction; without success in these undertakings we shall be heading towards chaos and disasters. The whole Governmental machinery is fully preoccupied with these administrative and economic tasks. Viewing the problem in a narrower sphere, the resources of the Province of Bombay are overstrained in dealing with the post-war problems simultaneously with the process of absorbing vast territories which have merged into it—Baroda, Deccan and Gujarat States and Kolhapur.⁷ Orissa and Central Provinces are similarly engaged in consolidating their respective share of the Eastern States which constitutes very substantial additions to their territory.⁸ The Province of Madras has to tackle a serious Communist problem which affects a large part of what would constitute the Andhra Province;⁹ it has also had to part with a substantial portion of its men to assist in the administration of Hyderabad. The dangers of adding to these heavy and substantial occupations, the difficult and complex task of separating large areas, in the present run-down and overstrained conditions of the administrative machinery are obvious.

7. The merger of the Deccan States became effective on 8 March 1948. On 19th March 1948 the rulers of the Gujarat States comprising Palanpur, Danta, Idar and Vijayanagar agreed to merge their States with the Province of Bombay. Sirohi, in Gujarat, was handed over to Bombay on 5 January 1949. Kolhapur formally became part of Bombay Province on 1 March 1949 while the merger of Baroda took place on 1 May 1949.
8. The Eastern States were merged some with Orissa and others with Central Provinces on 15 December 1947.
9. The years 1947 to 1949 saw peasant agitations in Malabar, Telengana and other Andhra districts and there was a textile workers' strike at Coimbatore in 1948. The Government of Madras had to send troops to some of these places.

We have such, during the past year or more, passionate demands not only for new linguistic provinces to be formed, but also for a readjustment of boundaries between the existing provinces. These demands may often be justified on the merits, but the manner in which they have been presented and the passion that lay behind this presentation, has been a warning to all of us about the inherent danger of changing the existing structure. At the present moment of our history, when some of the smaller states have been merged into a province, a neighbouring province has objected with such violence and language that one would have almost thought that two countries were on the verge of war. These are evil symptoms and we have to be very careful lest we do anything to encourage them.

However definite such an area might be, it flows into another linguistic area and where the two may meet, there is a mixed bilingual area. Inevitably if a linguistic division is made, there will be trouble about this middle area and it will not be easy to decide where it should go. Immediately conflict will arise and passions will be aroused. People's attention will be diverted from the urgent problems of the day, which are essentially economic, to this totally unnecessary conflict which can do good to no one. It is possible that when conditions are more static and the state of people's minds calmer, the adjustment of these boundaries or the creation of new provinces can be handled with relative ease and with advantage to all concerned. Such conditions do not prevail today in India and we are, therefore, entirely averse to recommending changes, unless vital considerations make such changes inescapable. While a language is a binding force, it is also a separating one. We have to balance all these considerations as well as many others in arriving at any decision.

The Dar Commission has considered the problem of linguistic provinces with considerable care and thoroughness and they have placed the arguments both for and against in their report. We need not repeat these arguments. The facts are generally admitted and the consequences—economic, financial, administrative, etc.,—can be roughly calculated. There can be little doubt that a multiplication of provinces will lead to a severe financial burden for most of these new provinces and might seriously affect the quality of their administrative services. We shall have to adjust our financial and economic policies and structures much quicker than seems possible in present circumstances to the new facts and new demarcations. We have seen recently a progressive integration of states. That has been in keeping with modern trends of having larger political and economic units. A disintegration of existing provinces will be opposed to this trend.

Nevertheless if there is a strong and widespread feeling in an area for a linguistic province, a democratic government must ultimately submit to it, unless there is grave danger to the State or unless this feeling comes into conflict with a rival feeling. If there is general consent and willingness, then of course the difficulties are much less.

But it is clear that such consent and willingness must not be confined to the linguistic area directly concerned. It is impossible to isolate such an area from the other linguistic components of the province or to consider the problem raised apart from its consequences on the future of the remainder. Thus the constitution of a Province of Maharashtra inevitably raises the problem of the Karnataka and makes a separate Karnataka Province with or without Mysore inescapable. The inclusion of Vidarbha and Nagpur if it eventuates will entail the problem of Mahakoshal.¹⁰ The constitution of Andhra Province raises the difficulty of the City of Madras and the problem of Karnataka areas of Madras Province.¹¹ All three raise the problem of contiguous linguistic areas of Hyderabad State.¹² The concession of one will stimulate the demand for the other. The resultant controversies, it is obvious, will seriously divert our attention and energies from more urgent and pressing problems affecting the very life and existence of the community.

Taking a broad and practical view, therefore, we feel that the present is not an opportune time for the formation of new provinces. It would unmistakably retard the process of consolidation of our gains, dislocate our administrative, economic and financial structure, let loose, while we are still in a formative stage, forces of disruption and disintegration, and seriously interfere with the progressive solution of our economic and political difficulties.

Notwithstanding what we have said above, if public sentiment is insistent and overwhelming, the practicability of satisfying public demand with its implications and consequences must be examined.

As we view the reference made to us by the Congress, we are not concerned with what might be called petty adjustments of provincial boundaries such as are demanded in parts of Northern India. Even apart from our view of this reference to us, we are fairly of the opinion that no such questions should be raised at the present moment. This does not necessarily mean that the demands for adjustments

10. In Maharashtra there was a sizeable Kannada-speaking population who refused to join a united Maharashtra. In Kannada-speaking areas, the leaders of Mysore again were not agreeable to come within the Province of united Karnataka. Similarly a large section of Marathi population was opposed to the formation of a 'Samyukta Maharashtra' including the Province and City of Bombay and advocated the cause of a separate state of 'Mahavidarbha' comprising Nagpur and Berar divisions. The inclusion of these would really have added to Mahakoshal's problem, territorially, because it had already been enlarged by the merger of the Chhatisgarh princely states, and linguistically, because Nagpur and Vidarbha were essentially Marathi-speaking States.
11. There was an Andhra irredenta in Tamilnadu and Tamilnadu irredenta in Andhra. The Tamils who had lived for centuries in Travancore wanted to be included in Tamilnadu. The demand for Kerala Province included Cuddalore and South Canara upto Mangalore.
12. Apart from Urdu, Marathi, Telugu and Kannada happened to be the three main languages of Hyderabad State.

of provincial boundaries are unjustified or without merit. We believe that there is some force in them and that some adjustments may ultimately become necessary. But we are convinced that for the present no such question should be raised. The harm that will be done by raising such a question now will clearly outbalance any possible good.

The problem, therefore, before us essentially relates to the southern part of India and to the proposals to have new provinces in Andhra, Kerala, Karnataka and Maharashtra. We do not propose to discuss the pros and cons of each of these proposals, as the facts have been stated in the Dar Commission's Report. We realize that there is not only strong feeling but also much merit behind these proposals, though not in the form they have been put forward. We also realize that some of these linguistic areas, notably Kerala and the Karnataka, have rather suffered in the past from their association with larger multilingual provinces. It is also true that the formation of these provinces will probably result in a heavier burden on the administrative apparatus and probably deficit areas or a lowering of the standard of administration in certain areas.

In regard to Kerala and Karnataka, it seems to us that new provinces can only be formed in conjunction with certain states which will form a substantial portion of the new province. This can be brought about not by a merger of the present province areas into the states but by the reverse process and must entail virtual disappearance of these states. So long as that matter is not fully settled, the problem of constituting a separate province of Kerala and a province of Karnataka will necessarily have to wait. Once the states' problem has been settled and there is an agreement on the part of the people of the states concerned to join hands with that particular linguistic area in a province, it will be comparatively easy to constitute a new province. In doing so, however, linguistically disputed areas will have to be left out. That is to say that the people forming a new linguistic province will have to proceed on the basis of accepting only such areas as are clearly in favour of that linguistic province. Where there is doubt or obvious conflict, a particular area will not go to the new province. This does not mean that the first division should be a final one; it may be that later a better and a more rational boundary between the new and the old province might be formed. But to begin with, if a division has to take place, it must be on this basis, that is, that the new province must have well defined areas based on mutual agreement and not involving any conflict or serious dislocation vis-a-vis another province or state.

These general principles apply to the proposed Maharashtra Province also.¹³

13. A conference held at Bombay on 17 October, 1948, and attended by about 25,000 Maharashtrians, passed a resolution demanding the immediate formation of a United Maharashtra Province consisting of the Marathi-speaking areas of, (a) Bombay Presidency including Bombay City, (b) the Central Provinces and Berar, (c) the states merged in the C.P. and Bombay Presidency, and (d) Kolhapur, Hyderabad state and Portuguese Goa.

Well defined and accepted areas of Maharashtra can, if they so choose, form themselves into a separate province. In the case of Berar or Vidarbha and Nagpur, as to whether this area joins the new Maharashtra Province or not, this should depend on the choice of Vidarbha and Nagpur. Further, it will have to be contingent on a proper arrangement for the separated portion of Karnataka.

The question of the City of Bombay has not only risen but has been fairly debated.¹⁴ And yet in our opinion, there can be little room for argument about this great city. It is not only one of the greatest cities of India but is essentially a cosmopolitan multi-lingual city, the nerve-centre of our trade and commerce, and our biggest window to the outside world. It is quite impossible for us to entertain any idea or any proposal which might injure the many-sided life and activity of this great city, which has been built up by the labour of all kinds of people and community. We cannot consider it as belonging to any one linguistic group and attach it to a purely linguistic province. That would undoubtedly mean its rapid deterioration from its present commanding position. The population of Bombay has grown rapidly during the past years. It is very much a mixed population and there can be little doubt that the Maharashtrians in Bombay are a minority of the population. But even if they were in a slight majority, that would not take away in the least from the cosmopolitan character of the city. We are, therefore, of opinion that, in case the present province of Bombay is split up, and a separate Maharashtra Province is formed, the City of Bombay should be constituted into a separate political unit. It should be remembered that the Congress, even when it formed the Maharashtra, Gujarat, and Karnataka Provincial Congress Committees, made Bombay City a separate Provincial Congress Committee.

There have been proposals for a Greater Bombay, but they have apparently been held up because of the argument about the future of Bombay that has been going on for some time. We think that in any event this scheme for a Greater Bombay should be given effect to. It is essential for this great and growing city to have wider boundaries. In the event of the present Bombay Province splitting up into several provinces, it becomes all the more incumbent for this Greater Bombay taking shape as a separate unit. We understand that owing to the arguments about linguistic provinces and the splitting up of Bombay Province, there has been considerable apprehension in the minds of many people in Bombay and business has suffered in consequence. We feel, therefore, that it should be stated clearly and emphatically that Greater Bombay will not become just a part of a purely linguistic province, and that if such linguistic provinces are formed out of the present Bombay Province, the area of Greater Bombay will have to be constituted as a separate unit.

14. See *ante*, item 1.

In regard to Andhra, the same general principles should be applied which we have stated above. In some ways the demand for an Andhra Province has a larger measure of consent behind it than other similar demands. Yet there is controversy about certain areas as well as about the City of Madras. To a large extent what we have said about Bombay City applies to Madras.¹⁵ At the same time there is a difference in that it is a clear Tamil majority area. It seems impossible to restrict the aspirations of the majority to the confines of the City and as far as we can see its isolated existence would be a perpetual source of conflict between Andhra and Tamilnadu. On the whole, therefore, we feel if an Andhra Province is to be formed its protagonists will have to abandon their claim to the City of Madras.

If the general principles we have indicated above are accepted, an Andhra Province can be formed, but this will have to be confined to the well-defined areas mutually agreed upon and confined to the Province of Madras and can be brought about only with the willingness and consent of the other component parts of Madras Province. We do not rule out the possibility of changes or additions at a later stage.

A Maharashtra Province can also be formed, subject to similar conditions to the constitution of a separate unit of Greater Bombay and to proper arrangements being made for separate areas of Karnataka. Vidarbha and Nagpur will decide for themselves whether they join the Maharashtra Province or not. Kerala and Karnataka, in many ways deserving of encouragement as separate Provinces, will have to wait till the problem of adjoining States is solved. At the same time, for the reasons which we have already mentioned above, it is impossible to take up all these projects simultaneously for implementation without seriously jeopardizing the political, administrative and economic stability of the country. The case of Andhra, however, can be isolated from others, in that, as we have already pointed out, there appears to be a large measure of consent behind it and the largest compact area likely to form part of this linguistic province is situated in one province. We would, therefore, suggest that, if a start has to be made, we should take up first for study and examination the problems arising out of the separation of Andhra Province and ascertain if, consistent with the principles we have mentioned above, this Province could be separated. If the necessary conditions are achieved, we recommend that measures may be taken to implement it.

15. On the basis of Pattabhi Sitaramayya's suggestion Nehru made the following change in his original draft: "City also, but there is a marked difference. Bombay City because of its size and cosmopolitan and industrial character, can be made into a political entity; Madras City is smaller and is closely linked with provincial life and activities. We feel that an isolated existence of Madras City would be undesirable, and this would not resolve or reduce the present conflicts. We are of opinion, therefore, that if an Andhra Province is to be formed, its protagonists will have to abandon their claims to the City of Madras."

We feel that the conditions that have emerged in India since the achievement of independence are such as to make us view the problem of linguistic provinces in a new light. The first consideration must be the security, unity and economic prosperity of India and every separatist disruptive tendency should be rigorously discouraged. Therefore, the old Congress policy of having linguistic provinces can only be applied after careful thought being given to each separate case, and without creating serious administrative dislocation or mutual conflicts which would jeopardize the political and economic stability of the country. We would prefer to postpone the formation of new provinces for a few years so that we might concentrate during this period on other matters of vital importance and not allow ourselves to be distracted by this question. However, if public sentiment is insistent and overwhelming, we, as democrats, have to submit to it, but subject to certain limitations in regard to the good of India as a whole and certain conditions which we have specified above. Public sentiment must clearly realize the consequences of any further division so that it may fully appreciate what will flow from their demand. We feel that the case of Andhra Province should be taken up first and the question of its implementation examined before we can think of considering the question of any other province.

We are clearly of opinion that no question or rectification of boundaries in the provinces of Northern India should be raised at the present moment, whatever the merit of such a proposal might be.

A REPUBLIC IN THE COMMONWEALTH

1. Cable to C.R. Attlee¹

I regret the delay in replying to your telegram of 27th January.² Before doing so, I wished to make certain enquiries from Krishna Menon. He tells me that, he had, some time ago, mentioned to you informally that we should be arranging for diplomatic relations with Ireland and that the Irish had said that our representative should be a Minister. He had also said that, in view of the decision which was being taken by the Irish Government regarding its constitutional relations with the U.K., there would be no more High Commissioners and, therefore, there would be no difficulty in our representative being called a Minister. Krishna's impression is that you had assented to this. It is quite possible, however, that the matter was not seriously considered by you at the time. I have, therefore, in deference to your views, had our plan examined afresh. It appears that, with effect from 17th April, apparently date appointed for that purpose, Ireland would cease to be member of Commonwealth. Legal objection, therefore, to our representative being called Minister would disappear from that date.

2. As regards other argument, namely, that, even after Ireland ceases to be member of Commonwealth, Irish nationals would continue to enjoy special privileges within Commonwealth and, therefore, unless some special designation is given to representatives exchanged between Ireland and Commonwealth countries, foreign countries would claim similar privileges. I am not sure that this device alone would prevent foreign countries from claiming these privileges. In any case, such informal soundings as I have had made indicate that the Irish Government would not agree to our representative being described as such with a capital 'R' or as H.C. They insist that he be called "Minister" since exchange of diplomatic missions is to be at Legation level. For reasons which you will appreciate, we cannot now go back on or postpone arrangement already made for establishment of diplomatic relations between us and Ireland. We have, therefore, to act upon legal basis of new status of Ireland and name our representative accordingly. We shall not, however, make appointment before 17th April.

1. New Delhi, 24 February 1949. File No. 41/49-O.S.V. (VII), M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.
2. Attlee wrote that though Ireland was shortly leaving the Commonwealth it was in British interest not to treat it as a "foreign country" specially in respect of trade preferences and the treatment of foreign nationals. A change in the designation of the representatives of the Commonwealth countries to Ireland was not desirable as it would provoke other countries to protest against Ireland being given the special privileges which only the Commonwealth countries enjoyed.

As you know, my general view is that conception of Commonwealth has now to be broadened to include members who, while cooperating in matters of common interest on more intimate footing than is usual amongst foreign nations linked by an alliance, are not Dominions in the current sense of the term but independent constitutional entities. We have, therefore, to face problems of representation such as that of Ireland and act accordingly.

2. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

U.K. High Commissioner in course of conversation with me on 23rd February said that though his Government had no desire to hurry us into a decision they would like us to make some further suggestions regarding India's relations with the Commonwealth. After the aide memoire that you handed to U.K. Government on 11 December, we have made no official communication to them although you have had informal discussion with both Attlee and Cripps (*Vide* your strictly personal letter dated 27 December 1948).² In a message to me dated 16 December, Attlee had said: "We must, however, have time in which to work out some of the main implications of this term of Commonwealth association." Reference was to association without nexus of the Crown. I was all along under the impression that we should hear something from them officially regarding the result of their examination of the main implications of this new form of Commonwealth association. However, it is not worthwhile arguing as to whether they owe us a reply or we owe them one.

We can, of course, on the basis of our examination of the points made by you in your letter of 27 December send a formal communication to the United Kingdom Government. Please signal what the latest position is and also your comments on suggestion that we send communication to U.K. now on the basis of examination of points made by them and in the light of your letter of 27 December and our examination thereof.

1. New Delhi, 25 February 1949. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 9, p. 189.

3. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Your telegram 4887 dated 27th February.² No one here thinks you guilty of slackness and Nye did not suggest this. Since despatch of my telegram 22051 dated 25th February³ I have received message from Attlee in which he repeats that our present proposals do not seem satisfactory for continuing Commonwealth association through nexus of the Crown. Hopes that we might feel able to reconsider our position and go somewhat farther to meet views held not only by U.K. but Canada, Australia and New Zealand and says that he is informing other Commonwealth Premiers of general position and suggesting a conference of them at the end of April or early May since he considers matter to be one which can only be decided jointly by Commonwealth countries in consultation. If agreeable to Commonwealth countries U.K. proposes to send out personal emissary in order to help in preparatory consideration of issues involved. If it should be of assistance to me he has offered to send this emissary to New Delhi also.

I am considering Attlee's message and shall send him a reply as soon as possible. Meanwhile I suggest that, when you see Attlee tomorrow you should not mention contents of this telegram to him as he has asked me to keep contents of his message secret. Should he take you into his confidence it would be advisable to do no more at this stage than to note what he says. If he should have anything new to say by way of suggestion as to how we might modify the stand we have taken you will telegraph that to us but I would advise against our going into the merits of the problem until I have had time to examine Attlee's latest message.

1. New Delhi, 28 February 1949. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. Denying that he had shown any slackness in negotiations on the issue of India remaining in the Commonwealth, Krishna Menon informed Nehru that the U.K. Government had not "abandoned the idea of some nexus of the Crown" but was anxious that India should remain in the Commonwealth without affecting her Republican Constitution and sovereign rights. Since he had heard that Attlee had sent fresh, confidential proposals to Nehru on the subject, he asked for Nehru's views on the subject as he was scheduled to discuss it with Attlee on 29 February 1949.
3. See the preceding item.

4. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
14 March 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose copies of two messages received from the U.K. Prime Minister. One relates to Burma.²

The other relates to the proposed conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers,³ which it is now proposed to hold from 20 April onwards for about a week or so. This date is rather nearer than we had expected. You will notice that Gordon Walker is due here on 1 April.⁴ Why he should spend three weeks or so in Karachi and Colombo is difficult to understand. The main question at the conference is going to be India and the Commonwealth. Perhaps the idea is that the reactions of all the other Commonwealth countries, namely, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, etc., should be first obtained. Nevertheless, it is rather odd procedure. I suppose there is no particular point in our asking him to come here earlier. My last message to Mr. Attlee was that we shall await Gordon Walker's visit here and have talks with him and then decide about the conference. Now the conference has already been more or less fixed. In a sense the date suits us because it is between the two Sessions of the Constituent Assembly. But I do not quite see what I can say in the conference except to repeat what I have previously said. The result is likely to be an inconclusive conference, with the participants going back to their respective Governments to report.

I should like to consult you about this. I do not myself see how I can easily refuse to go, though I am not at all anxious to go there.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 8, pp. 2-3.
2. Attlee's message of 12 March referred to the precarious situation in Burma which could upset the stability and food supply of South East Asia, and suggested that the Commonwealth countries should continue to watch developments closely with a view to further joint action if the Burmese Government made a fresh approach or if the situation turned markedly threatening.
3. Attlee indicated that it would be most convenient to hold the conference on 20 April as most of the Premiers would find that date suitable. He wished all other Commonwealth Prime Ministers to have the advantage of personal discussions with Nehru.
4. P.C. Gordon Walker, Under Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, was sent as Attlee's personal representative to have preliminary conversations with the heads of Commonwealth countries on the constitutional issue raised by India's position in the Commonwealth.

5. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
14 March 1949

My dear Krishna,

I have sent you a telegram today about Edwina's illness. Suddenly at Puri in Orissa she developed a high temperature, which was probably due to malaria. We returned yesterday to Delhi, but her temperature continued, though it was a little less. This morning it touched normal, but there is a possibility of another rise. In any event these three days' fever has left her weak and the doctors strongly advised her resting for a few days before she goes. It might even be possible for her to go by the date originally fixed, if she has not arranged a rather heavy programme in Bombay, the days before her departure. She says she cannot possibly give up this programme. We have, therefore, managed to induce her to stay another four days and take the next Air India service which leaves Bombay on the 22-23rd midnight, reaching London on the 23rd evening. She wants to hurry to Marseilles before it is too late.

I enclose copies of two messages I have received from Attlee—one about Burma and the other about the conference of Prime Ministers. I suppose I shall have to decide in the course of the next two or three days about attending this conference. I confess I am not attracted to it or rather to going there so soon. But I do not see any easy way out. One thing that surprises me is the leisurely way in which Gordon Walker is doing his rounds. He is already in Karachi and has been there some days. From there he goes to Colombo and apparently spends a fortnight there. Then to Delhi on April 1st. I should have thought that Delhi was the first and the most important place to be visited from the point of view of the subject in discussion. However, I have no desire to hurry him.

I do not quite see what the conference can do or decide and what I can say there more than I have already said. If anything more is expected of me, I must at least refer the matter to my Government. Even that is not quite enough because we have to deal with public opinion and the Constituent Assembly. The result will be that the conference will be rather inconclusive and people will go back to their respective Governments for report.

We had suggested that you might come here about the middle of April for consultation. But in the event of my having to go to London round about the 20th April, you should of course stay there till I come. I shall of course be communicating with you by cable.

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

Chandralekha's marriage has been fixed for the 14th April here in Delhi and Vijayalakshmi will be coming for it. After that she will go to Washington, presumably via London.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

6. India's Relationship with the Commonwealth¹

The British Prime Minister has proposed a meeting of the Dominion Prime Ministers at London in four to five weeks' time. Originally it was intended to have this conference at Colombo, but for various reasons the idea had to be abandoned. The discussions in the previous conference have not been taken forward in subsequent correspondence between the Governments concerned and I have communicated to Mr. Attlee my own view that there is not much point in having a conference at this stage without first settling the points at issue. I have, however, been invited and if, despite my suggestion for a postponement, it is decided to hold the conference, I cannot very well refuse to attend. If I go, I will probably be away for a couple of weeks stopping *en route* in Switzerland on the return journey for a couple of days.

It is likely that one of the subjects to be discussed at the conference will be India's position in the Commonwealth. It is generally known that India will soon become a Republic but other Commonwealth countries hope that a formula can be devised under which India's continued membership of the Commonwealth will not be inconsistent with her status as a Republic. There is a desire to evolve a Commonwealth citizenship, and one view is that the King should be the first citizen of the Commonwealth. The question will then arise how the King can be the first citizen of the Indian Republic which honour, in the ordinary course, should go to the President of the Republic. The whole position is rather vague, but some Commonwealth countries feel that the position of the King should be defined

1. Remarks at a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Legislature for the Ministry of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, 19 March 1949. File No. 46-70/49-BC I(B), M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.

somehow somewhere. These matters can best be settled by informal consultations among members rather than in a conference; but such consultations have not taken place so far. Anyhow if I go, there is no question of my committing the Government of India to any particular course of action or policy; all I can do is to undertake to refer matters to my Government. As a preliminary to the conference, Mr. Gordon Walker, Under Secretary of State in the United Kingdom Government, is likely to pay a visit to India sometime next week to discuss matters. It is desirable to ask Mr. Krishna Menon to come home also so as to be present at the discussions. Mr. Krishna Menon has been associated in the discussions on this question from the beginning and his presence here will be useful.

The membership of the Commonwealth will not commit us to anything, but will place us in a favourable position in regard to securing economic, technical and other assistance from the Commonwealth countries and from the United States. Membership of the Commonwealth will also enable us to exercise influence on Britain and on the United States in shaping their policies towards countries in South East Asia. There is no disputing in the fact that during the last year or so India has in fact exercised tremendous pressure on the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom for adopting a more liberal policy towards subject countries in South East Asia. Two alternatives are open to India if she does not wish to remain in the Commonwealth. She can enter into an alliance with the U.S.A. or the U.K. This will however put her definitely in the U.K.-U.S.A. bloc, thereby doing away with her nonaligned stand in international affairs. To take the other extreme, she can completely dissociate herself from the Commonwealth. This will put her in the category of foreign countries and will deprive her of the advantages that she now obtains by being a member of the Commonwealth. All things considered, it is best for India to retain association with the Commonwealth.

It will not be to India's advantage to raise questions at the conference, as suggested by Prof. Ranga, in regard to the security and stability of South East Asian countries. The formation of a pact or an alliance of South East Asian countries of the nature of the Atlantic Pact, which Professor Ranga has in view, will not be beneficial to India. These countries are poorly off financially, militarily and in other respects, and any alliance with them will involve India in a serious liability.

Indian delegations to international conferences have always included a fair proportion of non-officials and members of the Constituent Assembly;² the delegation to the forthcoming session of the General Assembly includes two members of the Constituent Assembly, Mr. B. Shiva Rao, who is a member of the delegation to the Paris session of the Assembly, and Mrs. Renuka Ray.

2. N.G. Ranga had suggested that delegations to international conferences should include members of the Constituent Assembly and other non-officials.

There is no doubt that the situation in Burma has deteriorated still further. A request for a loan has been received from the Burma Government by the British Government who are averse to granting any such loan without being able to exercise a close supervision on the expenditure of the money. There is no doubt that the opposing sides in Burma are so evenly balanced that unless a settlement is reached, fighting will continue for a long time thereby exhausting and ruining the country. Thakin Nu has gone as far as he can in his proposals for a settlement with the Karens but there is evidence of a lack of faith on either side and the Karens have rejected the proposals. Some outside agency is needed to bring about a settlement; the Government of India has offered to mediate in the hope that they might be able to induce the Karens to stop fighting, but Thakin Nu's Government have not accepted the offer.

As regards India's attitude in the forthcoming session of the United Nations Assembly on the subject of Israel's membership of the United Nations, I want to say that there is no doubt that Israel has come to stay and that India will sooner or later have to recognize her. The question is one of proper timing. There are indications of the Middle East countries coming to terms with Israel. If that happens India will have no hesitation in recognizing Israel. We do not however wish to precipitate matters as it may alienate the goodwill and support of the Middle East countries thereby adversely affecting the Indonesian problem. Our delegation has been asked to await further instructions in the light of events.

As regards the question of South Africa, India's position has steadily weakened. It is no use our attempting to get resolutions passed in the General Assembly without any chance of their being implemented. Moreover it is unlikely that we will again secure a two-third majority for the resolution.³ One possible line to adopt may be to ask for a United Nations Fact-Finding Commission for South Africa. The difficulty is that South Africa can always advance the argument that if Indians in South Africa consider themselves to be Indian nationals and find things uncomfortable or inconvenient in South Africa, they are at liberty to return home; on the other hand, if they regard themselves as South African nationals, then India has no *locus standi* in the matter. We can of course continue to raise this question, as we have done in the past, on humanitarian and moral grounds but the position has been aggravated by the recent racial riots between Indians and South Africans.

3. The U.N. General Assembly adopted on 15 May 1949 (by 47 votes to 1 with 10 abstentions), a resolution inviting the Governments of India and South Africa to discuss the matter of treatment of Indians at a Round Table Conference, taking into consideration the purpose and principles of the Charter of the U.N. and the declaration of Human Rights. Another resolution to appoint a 3-member U.N. Commission to solve the problem of treatment of Indians was withdrawn.

As suggested by Prof. Ranga, efforts will be made to raise the number of scholarships for African students in India. I also agree with him that it will be a good thing for the Ministry of Education to provide facilities to African students to come in closer contact with Indian leaders and public men. Some arrangements may be made so that these students can be looked after during their holidays and generally taken care of.

The Foreign Secretary⁴ should look into the question of appointing a South Indian officer to assist the Consul in his contact with the South Indian community.⁵

4. K.P.S. Menon.

5. A member had suggested that since the entire Indian community in Indo-China was from South India and the Indian Consul did not know the language, a South Indian officer might be appointed there as India's representative.

7. The Coming Commonwealth Conference¹

The Prime Minister informed the Cabinet that he had received a further communication from the U.K. Prime Minister postponing the conference to the 21st April, 1949, to suit Prime Minister's convenience. The U.K. Prime Minister was of the opinion that a formal announcement regarding the subjects to be discussed at the conference need not be made till after the conference. The Prime Minister on the other hand felt that an agreed announcement immediately would be desirable, in order to avoid unnecessary speculation as to the purposes of the conference, and had accordingly suggested this course of action to the U.K. Prime Minister.

2. The Prime Minister also mentioned that, on enquiry, certain Ministers of the U.K. Government had denied any knowledge of proposals regarding a Pacific Pact.² The Australian Prime Minister, however, had recently referred to certain

1. Minutes of Cabinet Meeting, New Delhi, 21 March 1949. Cabinet Secretariat Papers.

2. See Section 10, sub-section 5, item 4, fn 2.

developments regarding this Pact and it was therefore possible that this matter might also come up for discussion before the forthcoming conference of Dominion Prime Ministers. The Prime Minister was of the opinion that India's attitude should be to keep out of a Pact of this nature.

8. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
21 March 1949

My dear Krishna,

I have just received the enclosed message from Attlee through the U.K. High Commissioner here.² This means that the meeting of the Dominion Prime Ministers has been definitely fixed now for the 21st April and we shall go ahead accordingly with our plans. That is to say we propose to reach London on the 20th night by Air India.

I do not agree with Attlee about the delay in the announcement. There is speculation enough all round and something should be said fairly soon. We shall reply to him to this effect.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. On 19 March, Attlee confirmed the proposed meeting in which all other Commonwealth Prime Ministers had agreed to join. But he thought it "best to make no announcement until nearer the opening of the meeting."

9. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
26 March 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have received from Attlee.² This is a surprisingly naive document. I just do not know what we are going to discuss in London if this is the approach of the U.K. Prime Minister. The other approach, that of Dr. Evatt, is, in its own way, simple and childlike.³

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 8, p. 5. A similar letter was sent to Rajagopalachari.
2. On 20 March 1949, Attlee wrote to persuade Nehru that the Commonwealth link should be retained as it had represented stability for long. The King and the Royal Family were the real links and had points of unity and stability. "It is something universal", he wrote, "transcending creeds and races." They would appeal to Indians by tradition as they did to other Dominions. A Republic by contrast had a transitory head who might or might not appeal to all the people in India. Attlee urged that the King should be retained in the Indian Constitution and his representative would, of course, be recommended by the Indian Prime Minister.
3. H.V. Evatt had urged Nehru to respect the Indian sentiments in favour of the King as the symbol of Commonwealth association and as such exercising the authority to appoint ambassadors.

10. The Proposed Conference of Dominion Prime Ministers¹

With your permission, Sir, I should like to make a brief statement in regard to a matter which is attracting a great deal of public attention and in which the House is greatly interested. This is in regard to the proposed conference of Dominion Prime Ministers to be held in London next month.

The suggestion to hold such a conference originated from the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom as he felt that personal talks between the Prime Ministers of the various Dominions of the Commonwealth would help to clear up the situation

1. Speech at the Constituent Assembly, 29 March 1949. *Constituent Assembly (Legislative) Debates, Official Report* Vol. III, Part II, 1949, pp. 2086-2087.

in regard to future constitutional arrangements. It is always a difficult matter to fix a date which is convenient for a number of persons on whom falls the burden of responsibility in their respective countries. Ultimately a date was fixed. It was not easy for me to think of leaving the country even for a brief period, but I decided, in consultation with my colleagues, to accept this invitation.

The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom is making the following statement in regard to this conference in the House of Commons in London today.²

I propose to leave India on the 19th of April, reaching London on the night of 20th April. I hope to be back in India by the beginning of May.

As has been indicated in the U.K. Prime Minister's statement, which I have just read out, the chief subject for discussion will be certain constitutional questions relating to the Commonwealth. There has been some speculation in the press about other subjects also being discussed at this conference, but no other subject, so far as I know, has been included in the agenda. I need hardly add that the general line to be pursued by us at these talks in London will necessarily be in conformity with the policy which I have repeatedly laid before this House and the country.

The House is aware that the U.K. Prime Minister has sent a personal representative of his, Mr. Gordon Walker, Under Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations in the United Kingdom, to Delhi for some preliminary conversations on this subject. I have already met Mr. Gordon Walker and expect to meet him again before he leaves Delhi.

2. The statement said that the Prime Ministers of Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan and Ceylon would meet in London on 21 April 1949 and that matters "not fully discussed at the October meetings of Prime Ministers, involving certain constitutional questions, will be considered at a short series of private meetings" which were expected to last a week.

11. India as a Republic in the Commonwealth¹

The Prime Minister, while fully explaining the Indian attitude towards the question of India's association with the Commonwealth, made it clear that he did not think

1. Minutes of an interview between Gordon Walker and Nehru in New Delhi on 30 March 1949. J.N. Collection. Gordon Walker, in course of his discussion with Nehru suggested, that the King should have the power to appoint the President of the Indian Republic, which would be renewable each time a President assumed office. Secondly, the King should be empowered to appoint "Arbital" Tribunal, on the recommendation of the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth, to settle political disputes. Thirdly, the King would be entitled to confer a Commonwealth 'Honour' for service to the Commonwealth on the recommendation of its Prime Minister. And lastly, the King would appoint and also preside over, from time to time, a Commonwealth Privy Council to deal with formal matters.

that (a) would be compatible with the position which had already been taken by him and other Indian leaders in their pronouncements and the basic principle of India's Constitution under which the President would derive his authority from the people. As regards (b) he said that the idea was logical but he could not say to what extent such an arrangement would be acceptable to Indian sentiment. Mr. Gordon Walker expressed the hope that these and other solutions which might occur to us would receive careful thought. In the U.K., and, so far as he knew, in the other Dominions also, it was fully realized that India would become a Republic. What was hoped was that India's association with the Commonwealth could be continued but with suitable provision for the position of the King.

12. The Scope of the Commonwealth Conference¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have already given an answer to this question² in the statement I made in Parliament on the 29th March afternoon.³ The honourable member as well as other members also asked some supplementary questions in regard to another connected matter a few days ago to which I gave appropriate answers.⁴

H.V. Kamath referred to Attlee having said in the British Parliament that some confidential proposals had been sent to the Dominion Governments and wanted to know if they were connected with any issue outside constitutional matters.

1. Nehru's replies to questions in the Constituent Assembly, 31 March 1949. *Constituent Assembly of India (Legislative) Debates, Official Report*, Vol. III, Part I, 1949. pp. 2015-2016.
2. H.V. Kamath wanted to know whether India had been invited to the proposed Commonwealth Conference to be held in London in April 1949, and what its objectives were.
3. See *ante*, item No. 11.
4. On 28 March 1949, Nehru said that in practice the word 'British' was not used in the title of the Commonwealth. He did not confirm Anthony Eden's statement that other Dominions would not entertain any change in the symbolic leadership of the King and the title of the organization. He agreed that other members desired India to remain in the Commonwealth and assured the House that India's status would be at par with the "status of any independent country."

JN: No. I can assure the honourable member that they do not refer to any other matter. Secondly, it is hardly correct to call them proposals. They are just talks in the nature of exploratory talks. Anyhow, there is no reference to any other matter than the one to which I referred in my statement day before yesterday.

H.V. Kamath enquired whether the constitutional matters to be discussed at the conference also included discussions about the structure and content of the Commonwealth.

JN: Sir, I do not know if that eloquent question requires an answer.

Mahavir Tyagi enquired whether discussions would be on the relationship of various Dominions with U.K. or they would also include mutual relations between the Dominions.

JN: To some extent, both.

H.V. Kamath asked whether the ways and means of maintaining and defending the constitutional structure of the Commonwealth would also be discussed.

JN: I think that in brief what the honourable member means is whether there will be any kind of military commitment or not. I cannot say exactly what or whether a particular suggestion might or might not be made but so far as I am aware, this question does not arise.

H.V. Kamath enquired whether in the name of preserving the stability and security of the Commonwealth, India would be committed in any manner to maintenance of the status quo in any parts of the Commonwealth either in the Atlantic or in the Pacific.

JN: The policy of India in these matters as I have repeatedly declared in this House is that there is no question of our changing our policy or our committing ourselves to any kind of military adventure or to helping in the retention of the state of affairs which is against that policy.

13. To C.R. Attlee¹

New Delhi
April 1, 1949

My dear Prime Minister,

Thank you for your message² about the treatment of Indians in South Africa which Mr. Gordon Walker delivered to me today. I have given the fullest consideration to the suggestion made by you that discussion of this question by the United Nations Assembly be postponed until its autumn session. I have consulted my colleagues also. You know that this question³ has roused deep feelings in India and any step that we might take is bound to have public reactions.

I agree with you that it is somewhat unfortunate that this question should be discussed in the United Nations Assembly just about the time when we are considering constitutional problems relating to the Commonwealth. We would ourselves have liked to avoid this unfortunate coincidence.

But we feel that any attempt at postponement of this issue might very well seriously prejudice the objective consideration of our constitutional problems. Public opinion in India would regard such postponement as due to pressure from outside. They would feel that the price we are asked to pay for Commonwealth participation, even at this early stage, is to give up something we have cherished and which involves our self-respect. They will immediately connect our association with the Commonwealth with a surrender on vital matters to which we have always attached great importance. The result, I fear, will not be helpful to us for the purpose we have in view.

We feel that it would be the lesser of the two evils to allow events to take their course in the United Nations Assembly. We do not wish to take any steps to expedite the hearing of this matter.

So far as our discussions in London are concerned, I do not propose to bring up this matter unless Dr. Malan does so, or the trend of the discussion of the problem

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Attlee suggested that inclusion of the question of treatment of Indians in South Africa in the agenda of the United Nations' 3rd session in May, would create more complications, at a time when the constitutional problems relating to the Commonwealth were being considered. It would be a violation of Article 2, paragraph 7 of the U.N. Charter which protects a State from interference in domestic affairs and it would further aggravate the racial tensions in South Africa.

3. Indians in South Africa, inspite of their South African nationality, were subjected to harsh and humiliating discrimination because of their race and colour. This question was first discussed in the General Assembly in 1946 and again in 1947 but no decision was taken. In 1949, India wanted the discussions to be resumed and a decision reached.

of our relations with the Commonwealth makes it necessary to refer to the treatment of Indians in South Africa.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

14. To C.R. Attlee¹

New Delhi
1 April, 1949

My dear Attlee,

Thank you for your personal letter to me dated the 20th March.² I have read this letter very carefully. There is much in what you say which has force and I can imagine a hereditary kingship giving a certain stability to a constitution. But you will appreciate that the mystique you refer to would hardly be applicable to India in the present state of affairs.

For a whole generation now we have built up a certain tradition and a certain way of thinking. Our draft constitution is based on this. Any attempt to change it during its final stages would lead to an uproar and would create enormous difficulties.

I have had long talks with Gordon Walker and he has also met some of our other Ministers as well as the Governor-General. We have explored various possibilities. In order to facilitate our consideration of this subject, we sent for our High Commissioner in London and he arrived this morning. We are giving earnest thought to this matter in all its aspects, as we are anxious to find a solution which would be satisfactory to all the parties concerned. I am sure that you on your side are equally concerned to find such a solution.

I am looking forward to meeting you on the 21st of this month.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. See *ante*, item 9, fn 2.

15. Agenda for the Commonwealth Conference¹

Nehru informed the Cabinet that he had further correspondence with Attlee regarding the London Conference and had also talks with Mr. Gordon Walker. The purpose of the London Conference was to consider the future constitutional structure of the Commonwealth. The issues chiefly centred round the position of India and the devising of a constitutional formula for the Commonwealth under which India could remain a member consistently with her declared intention of becoming a Republic as soon as her new Constitution was framed. Nehru was of the view that these issues should be discussed fully in the Cabinet before he left. As a preliminary, the matter should be discussed at an informal meeting of the Government to be held on Wednesday the 6th April at 9 A.M. to which the Secretary-General, Ministry of External Affairs and the Indian High Commissioner in the U.K. should be invited.²

1. Minutes of a Cabinet Meeting on 1 April 1949. Cabinet Secretariat Papers.
2. At the end Nehru read out a message from Attlee suggesting a postponement of the discussion in the U.N. of the treatment of Indians by South Africa while the Commonwealth Conference was in progress. The Government of India did not agree.

16. The Atlantic Pact¹

H.V. Kamath wanted to know whether the government was aware of the formation of power blocs or mutual defence pacts like Atlantic or Mediterranean Pacts and India's position in regard to that.

1. Nehru's replies to questions in the Constituent Assembly, 5 April 1949. *Constituent Assembly Debates (Legislative)*, Official Report, Vol. III, Part I, 1949, pp. 2135-2137.

Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) Government's attention has been drawn to the recently published Atlantic Pact;² they are not aware that any Mediterranean pact has been or is in process of being concluded.

(b) The Government of India understand that the Atlantic Pact is in the nature of a regional arrangement within the framework of the United Nations Charter. India is far removed from the Atlantic region, and the Government of India is not affected by the Atlantic Pact.

H.V. Kamath drew the Prime Minister's attention to a statement of the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Ernest Bevin, in Washington, by which India's association with the Commonwealth might even indirectly link her up with the Atlantic Pact.

JN: I regret I have not seen that particular speech to which reference is made. But, so far as this House is concerned, I think there need be no fear or apprehension about our being indirectly linked with the Atlantic Pact because of something else.

H.V. Kamath enquired about a statement made by a British Minister suggesting a Pacific Defence Pact.

JN: Again, I am sorry I have not read that statement of Lord Listowel.³ But the fact remains that there is no such thing being discussed at all. Some people with a vivid imagination may talk about it; but in reality, there is no such thing so far as the Government of India is concerned.

H.V. Kamath wanted to know whether the House would be consulted before taking any major policy decisions in the Commonwealth Conference.

JN: How does this arise out of the Atlantic Pact?

N.G. Ranga enquired whether the Government of India were informed by the British Government before or after they had concluded this Atlantic Pact.

2. On 4 April 1949, a North Atlantic Treaty was signed by the United States, Britain, Belgium, Canada, France, Holland, Luxemburg, Italy, Denmark, Norway, Iceland and Portugal. The parties agreed on mutual assistance in case of an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or in North America. The treaty came into force on 24 August 1949.
3. In March 1949, Lord Listowel announced that the Pacific Organization, comprising Australia, New Zealand and the United States, was pledged to mutual aid in the event of a member being subjected to armed attack. The Pacific Pact was ultimately signed in 1951.

JN: There is a system of information being circulated from time to time between the various Governments and so we have been kept informed of the various stages. I do not know what particular thing the honourable Member is referring to. We do receive information of what is happening in foreign countries.

N.G. Ranga asked whether from the point of view of Commonwealth relationship, the British Government had ascertained the views of the Government of India on the Atlantic Pact.

JN: We were kept informed. It was not directly our concern. I remember, for instance, four or five days before the publication of the document, we were informed that that is going to be published five or six days later; previously too, at various stages. It was not consultation. We were not in it at all. It is a question of sending information.

Tajamul Husain asked whether, though a member of the Commonwealth, India was not involved in the Atlantic Pact?

JN: The honourable Member is correct; we are not.

H.V. Kamath wanted to know, whether India being a party to the Commonwealth along with Britain and Canada was bound by some unwritten obligations of mutual defence in case of war.

JN: I am a little surprised at the honourable Member's question. These matters have been debated and publicly declared so many times. There is no such thing written or unwritten.

17. Commonwealth Unity for Mutual Benefit¹

G. Ward Price: Many people in Britain would look upon India's purpose of becoming an independent Republic as a move to "contract out" of the moral

1. Interview to G. Ward Price, correspondent of the *Daily Mail* (London), New Delhi, 10 April 1949. From *Daily Mail*, 11 April 1949.

obligation of Commonwealth membership while still expecting Britain and the other Dominions to contribute to her defence in case of need.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Moral obligations exist between individuals but not between States. It is the interests of the nations for which they are responsible that Governments have to consider.²

The question of India's relations with the Commonwealth was not included in the official agenda of the last conference of Commonwealth Premiers in October. But I took that opportunity of discussing it privately with Mr. Attlee and Prime Ministers of the other Dominions. I found among them a sympathetic readiness to consider its special problems.

The issue is not one that has been raised suddenly. On December 12, 1946, I moved in the Indian Constituent Assembly a resolution which laid down directives upon which our future Constitution was to be based. This resolution expressly defined our aim as being the foundation of an independent sovereign republic, but as I pointed out at that time, that was not an end that could be attained immediately. It will not be till July or August that the task of drafting the Indian Constitution will be completed by the Commission now at work.

After that a general election will have to be held which in turn involves such preparations as the introduction of adult suffrage throughout India and other dispositions which may well take a couple of years.

It ought not to be difficult to fit a Republican State into the framework of the Commonwealth. The changes required are in matters of form only. Governors-General of the Dominions, though nominally appointed by the King are in fact, chosen by the Governments of the countries concerned. Their nominations by the Crown follows at once. In the same way when I select an Ambassador to represent India abroad, I communicate my choice directly to the King's private secretary and his accreditation follows at once.

The substitution for a Governor-General, of the President of an Indian Republic as Head of the State would not necessarily affect ties of interest that unite the various nations of the Commonwealth for their mutual benefit.

G.W.P: Would India's interests lead her to make a contribution to Commonwealth defence?

JN: It would not be in the interest of India to engage herself in any pact which would automatically involve her in war. Far-reaching changes in international relations are taking place. The world centre of gravity is shifting. Till recently Europe was the centre and Asia only the fringe. Now Asia has become the scene of a major agrarian movement whose manifestations are reflected in the disturbed

2 Nehru later said this was misreporting. See *post*, item 22.

conditions prevailing in so many Asiatic countries. If war breaks out anywhere it is likely to become universal. It might be that the interests of India would require her participation in it, but that would depend on the circumstances. A friendly India, on good terms with the other members of the Commonwealth, would be of more value to them than the limited military aid that she could furnish. It is open to her now as to every member State of the Commonwealth to abstain from taking part in any war in which the United Kingdom might become engaged.

We hold strongly that the days of colonial domination in Asia are coming to a speedy end. The French in Indo-China and the Dutch in Indonesia would do well to face this fact and cut their losses.

G.W.P: Do you feel that communism is spreading in India?

JN: Communism might mean two things: One, the Communist Party; the other, discontent bred by poverty. The former is of little account in India. In a general election Communists would have no success. But the poverty that breeds agrarian communism is one of the greatest tasks facing my Government. Partition has hampered us in coping with it because it has deprived India of some of her sources of food supply.

We have vast projects in view, works of reclamation and power development which would do much to improve the lot of the Indian peasant. Some are bigger than America's Tennessee Valley Scheme.

G.W.P: Does your recent public statement that foreign capital would be welcomed, imply that you expect Britain to help carry out these enterprises.

JN: My recent statement² had in view general commercial activities of the country. At the time of the transfer of power some medium sized British firms had sold out but the exodus has now diminished. The big British interests, both industrial and in such spheres as tea-planting have, generally speaking, remained.

The people in India have friendly feelings towards the British, despite bitter memories of the past. This can be attributed partly to the gracious way in which Britain had withdrawn from India and partly to the sympathy shown by Lord and Lady Mountbatten during the trying time of refugee migration.

3. See *ante*, Section 1, sub-section 3, item 4.

18. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
April 14, 1949

My dear Krishna,

I sent you a telegram² the other day suggesting that as few engagements as possible might be made for me, because I was not feeling up to the mark. After that, I got your letter.³ For two or three days I felt rather poorly. Why, I do not know. I feel a little better today. Still I am not at all attracted by the idea of going out to lunches and dinners and parties. It is bad enough to have to attend three official functions. If you add others to this list it will be a burden to me. I realize the difficulty of my going to London and not meeting people. I suppose to some extent I shall have to put up with arrangements to meet them. But I really am not in the mood for it.

I have just received a letter from the Indian Association and Institute asking me for permission to hold a reception for me. I would rather not have this. They gave me a reception last time⁴ and I think on this occasion they might well do without it. I am sending a reply to them, which please forward.

This letter is being taken by Khurshed Lal, one of our Deputy Ministers working in the Communications Ministry with Rafi Ahmed Kidwai. He is going on some business or other and he is likely to be in England for two or three weeks. He is new to England and I hope you will give him all necessary help. I shall see him when I am there.

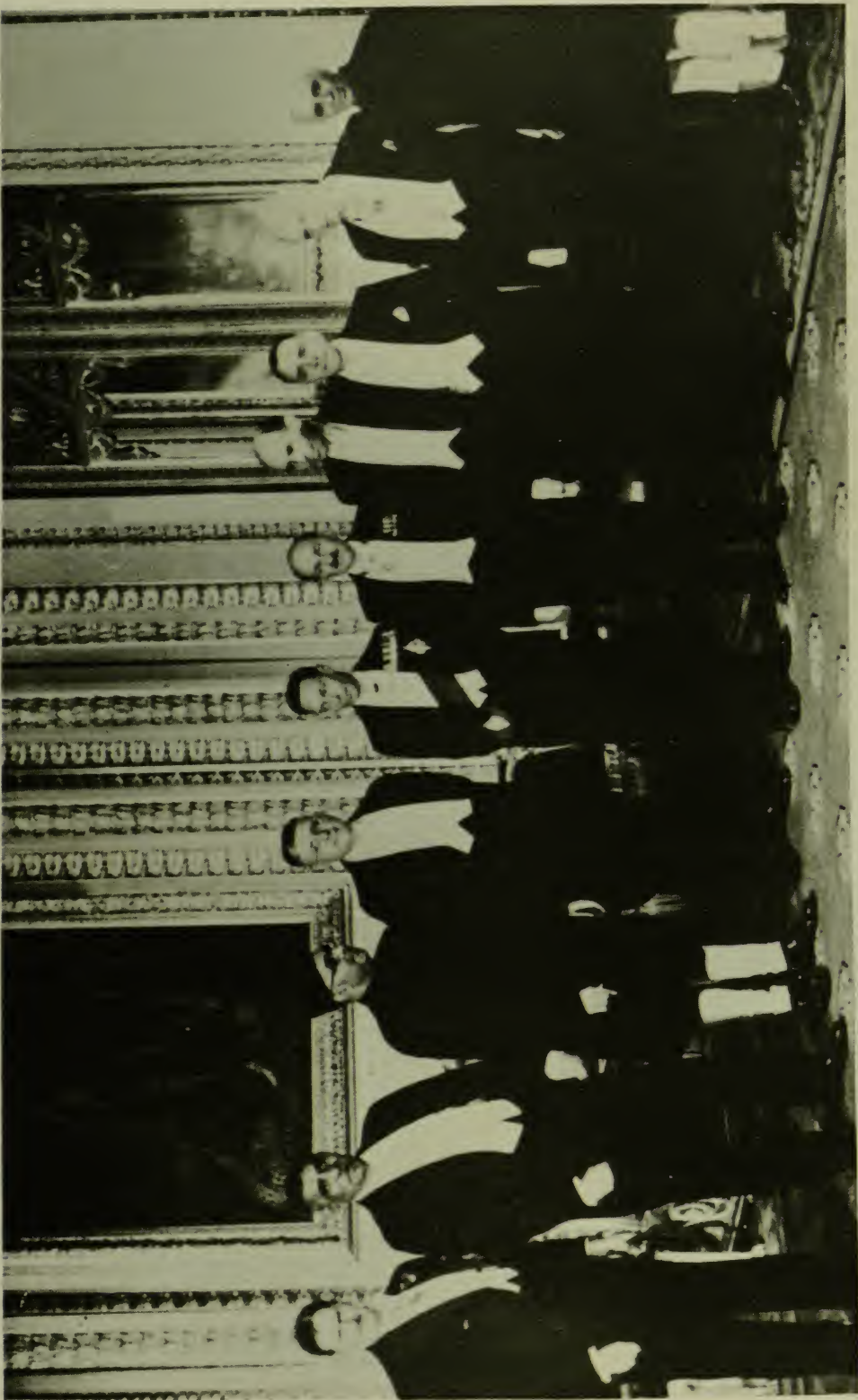
You spoke to me once, I think, about Dr. Chopra,⁵ Sheffield steel man. He is here for a few days and I have met him. Evidently he has undertaken some job on behalf of his firm. I think they are interested in constructing steel works in Orissa.

I have a letter from Edwina today. She tells me that she and Dickie will be reaching London on the 20th, that is, the same day as I do. Only probably a little earlier. About our going to Broadlands, much will depend upon the official programme for the week-end. If I can manage it, of course, I should like to go there. Edwina suggests the theatre one night. I would welcome this.

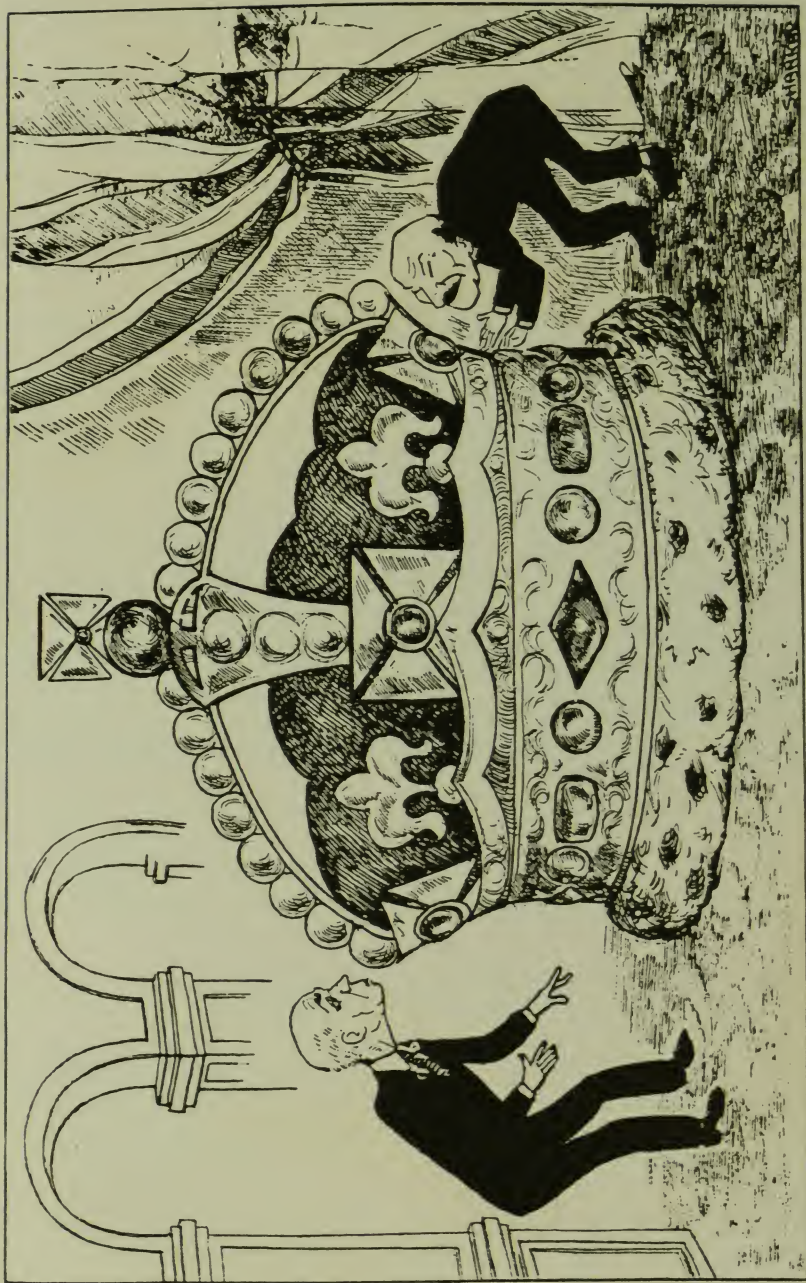
1. New Delhi, 14 April 1949. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. See *ante*, Nehru to Krishna Menon, 13 April 1949.
3. Krishna Menon replied on 14 April 1949 that no engagements were made till 28 April 1949 but two receptions and a meeting with George Bernard Shaw had been scheduled.
4. During his trip to England in October 1948, Nehru had attended a dinner arranged by the Indian Association and Institute in London on 22 October.
5. N.D. Chopra, Chairman, Sheffield Steel Co. See Section, Science and Industry.



ON THE EVE OF HIS DEPARTURE TO LONDON, 16 APRIL 1949



WITH THE KING AND THE COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS IN LONDON, APRIL 1949



In 1949, Britain (Prime Minister Attlee) and India (Nehru) had to consider how India, as a republic, could be accommodated in the Commonwealth and what the role of the British Crown would be.



WITH GEORGE BERNARD SHAW, 29 APRIL 1949

I hope you will remember old man George Bernard Shaw.⁶ Perhaps you might get in touch with him and ask him if it will suit him to see me. Edwina would like to go with me to him.

We have been considering at some length, both in the Working Committee and Cabinet, the question of India and the Commonwealth. After long argument, we have agreed to go ahead more or less on the lines you suggested. There is, however, a great deal of objection to the use of the phrase "Head of the Commonwealth" for the King. If possible, we should avoid it. Any new word, in Latin or any other language, would probably be worse. You will remember that "symbol of unity" or some such thing was once suggested, but you thought this was undesirable, as it had some deeper significance. On further thought, however, I am inclined to think that probably "symbol" would be better. My attention has been drawn to the second sub-para of the Preamble to the Statute of Westminster which says:

And whereas it is meet and proper to set out by way of Preamble to this Act that, in as much as the Crown is the symbol of the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, etc.

This phrase "symbol of the free association of the members of the Commonwealth" seems to me suitable. It is better than "symbol of unity" or "Head". It has the virtue also of having been used in the Statute of Westminster.

We are giving more thought to this matter and no doubt you will also. But the main hurdle might have been crossed at this end.

I should like to make it clear that we cannot possibly accept the description "British Commonwealth of Nations". Probably I shall bring a draft with me. You may also prepare a fresh draft if you have any new ideas on the subject. In any event, the threefold basis which you suggest will hold.⁷

Yours,
Jawaharlal

6. Nehru called on George Bernard Shaw on 29 April 1949 at his home at Ayot St. Lawrence.

7. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 8, p. 263.

19. To Jayaprakash Narayan¹

New Delhi
April 14, 1949

My dear Jayaprakash,

Thank you for your letter of the 10th April.²

I am greatly worried about Bishweshwar Prasad Koirala and we are trying to do what we can diplomatically. The position in regard to Nepal is very delicate and we cannot do very much more at present.

About India and the Commonwealth issue, it is a little difficult to write fully in a letter. But I think your argument is not a sound one. If our foreign policy continues to be one of complete neutrality, even when we are supposed to be a Dominion of the Commonwealth, surely a lesser association will not affect that neutrality. Neutrality ultimately depends upon the strength of a country and not on any vague association. Most of the independent countries today are not neutral and cannot be so, because of their weakness and they depend upon others.

India today, as you mentioned to me when you saw me, is about the only stable country in Asia, barring the Soviet Union. I have no doubt in my mind that our association with the Commonwealth during the past year and a half has helped greatly in our maintaining our stability and in largely settling the States problem. For a variety of reasons, into which I need not go now, I have equally no doubt that some such association will be of great practical help to us during the next two or three years at least. We cannot purchase that help by giving up any principle. But if no principle is given up, then there is no payment for an advantage received, or the payment is very slight. India has learnt to stand on her own legs or is learning to do so fairly rapidly and I am not aware of any matter in which we have changed our policy, internal or external, because of our association with the Commonwealth. In regard to some policies, we have opposed British policy openly and directly.

It may interest you to know that the two Commonwealth countries that are opposed to our being in the Commonwealth are South Africa and Pakistan.

As for the British trying to exploit India and Pakistan, that may or may not be so, so far as the British Government is concerned. I rather think that this is so to a slight extent still. But the British Government is realizing more and more that it is India that counts and not Pakistan. Britishers in Pakistan are certainly

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Jayaprakash Narayan had expressed his disapproval of India joining the Commonwealth along with Britain who had tied herself up with the North Atlantic treaty. Neutrality would become a farce, he wrote, if India were to retain her tie with the British Commonwealth.

very anti-Indian. But presuming British desire to create trouble between India and Pakistan, will that be any less if we are out of the Commonwealth? Indeed it will be much more.

As for your saying that to consult with one group means not consulting with another group, that is only partly correct. We are at present in close consultation with almost all Asian nations and this method of consultation is growing rapidly. The Commonwealth does not come in the way. If we were not associated with the Commonwealth, curiously enough, it would have been more difficult to develop closer relations with Asian countries, as many of these are very timid and dare not take a risk. With the Russian bloc it is anyhow rather difficult to consult. Nevertheless we deal with them in the United Nations and elsewhere probably more than many other countries.

I think we are apt to think too much of India in past terms. We imagine that she is weak enough to be made the camp follower of any other group, with which she may be associated. India's position is completely different and grows more different daily because of her actual and potential power. Where she is, she plays a prominent and independent role, influencing others more than she is influenced herself.

Practically speaking, there is no doubt that a sudden break with this association would be injurious to us in many ways and our progress would be hampered. One kind of aspect is that the $9\frac{1}{2}$ millions of our countrymen abroad in Mauritius, Fiji, Guiana, etc., would be put in a most invidious position.

I hope you and Prabha will soon be quite well again.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

20. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
14 April 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose two papers in regard to India and the Commonwealth. One is Points of

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

Agreement², not for publication, the other is a Declaration³ that might be made on behalf of the Conference.

These are merely our latest drafts. There is no finality in them and if anything strikes us we shall revise the draft. It will then be considered in London. Much will depend upon developments there.

I might mention that these drafts are largely based upon the language used in the proceedings of the Imperial Conference, 1926,⁴ and the Statute of Westminster. All that we have left out is the common allegiance to the Crown. Repeating the old language has a certain advantage.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

2. It was agreed that under the new Constitution India would become a sovereign Republic with an elected President as the Head, but would retain her association with the Commonwealth, which would be known as the "Commonwealth of Free Nations." India as a member of the Commonwealth would continue free association with other members as autonomous communities within the Commonwealth, equal in status, and with no subordination in domestic and external affairs. The King would be accepted as the symbol of the association and a Commonwealth citizenship would be conferred on the members of the Commonwealth.
3. The United Kingdom, Northern Ireland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan and Ceylon constitute a Commonwealth of free and independent nations, voluntarily associated.... "Free institutions are its lifeblood. Free cooperation is its instrument. Peace, security, and progress are among its objects."
4. The Imperial Conference of 1926 was one of a series of conferences between heads of the Dominion countries. It defined Dominion Status as "autonomous communities within the British Empire equal, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations." In 1931 this was embodied in the Statute of Westminster.

21. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
April 14, 1949

My dear Rajaji,

After much discussion and argument we have now produced two drafts about India and the Commonwealth. These are not of course final drafts. We shall continue

1. J.N. Collection.

to consider this matter and if any bright idea strikes us or any fresh development takes place, we shall try to adapt ourselves to it.

These two drafts are:

(i) Points for Agreement. This is not meant to be a formal document and is not to be published. It is a kind of thing which should be mentioned clearly and incorporated in the minutes of the Conference.

(2) A Declaration which might be made by the Conference.

These drafts contain, as far as possible, the language used in the Imperial Conference of 1926 as well as in the Statute of Westminster, except for the fact that allegiance to the Crown is omitted. The Preamble of the Statute of Westminster says:

“And whereas it is meet and proper to set out by way of preamble to this Act that, in as much as the Crown is the symbol of the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, etc.”

Instead of the Crown, we have put the King.

I think there is some advantage in having the language used in the Statute of Westminster and in the old Imperial Conference. It is more innocuous than some of the recent suggestions.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

22. India not to Align with Power Blocs¹

I have always sought the goodwill, affection and cooperation of the Indian people and always obtained it in a generous and abundant measure. If I have achieved anything in life, it is because of that affection and goodwill. I feel now that at

1. Address to journalists, Bombay, 19 April 1949. From *Hindusthan Standard*, 20 April 1949.

no time this goodwill and affection are more necessary than at the present moment, when I am on the point of explaining for the West to consider problems, which affect the present and the future.

During the past years we, all of us in India, have been partners in the making of history and history has marched with giant strides in this country, in Asia and in the world. History is still in the process of being made and there are mighty movements and considerable turmoil and conflicts in the world.

Free and independent India faces this prospect with a measure of confidence. We have to a large extent found ourselves and we have survived many perils and dangers and this has bred this confidence in us to face the future.

I have little doubt that in this future India has to play an important role, provided that it always adheres to the great ideals which have inspired us in the past and to the lessons which the Father of the Nation taught us.

Our very position demands a wider appreciation of what is happening in the world and an acknowledgement of our duties and our obligations to further world peace and progress.

The immediate object of my going to England is to discuss the future association of India with the Commonwealth countries. I have already in Parliament and in the open meetings of the Congress and elsewhere discussed this matter with frankness and stated what our fundamental position is. I shall abide necessarily with the direction given to me on this subject and equally necessarily by the ideals which have inspired us.

In regard to our foreign policy, we have repeatedly stated that we cannot align ourselves with power blocs hostile to each other. This is not merely a policy of neutrality, but is a positive approach to the problems of the world in the hope that we might further the cause of peace and friendship between nations. I believe India can be of service not only to India and Asia but to the world in this matter. It is with this background that I have tried to approach all our foreign problems.

History is on the march and we have to keep in step with it, at the same time trying to mould it and fashion it to the best of our ability. Ultimately the policy of a nation depends upon her inner strength. It is because our inner strength has grown, and our great potential will progressively become actual, that India counts more and more in the counsels of the world.

Recently I was reported by some error in a London newspaper as having said that there is no morality as between nations.² As a matter of fact I hold strongly to the opinion that unless there is a moral basis, both to the internal politics of a nation and to its external affairs, that nation will suffer and the world will suffer.

2. See *ante*, item 17.

I hope that whatever happens India will never do anything that is wrong morally even though some misguided people might think it is advantageous for the moment. And so for the present I bid a brief goodbye, conscious that I am not going abroad as a mere individual, but as a representative of a great nation with the goodwill of millions and with the desire to approach the problem in a spirit of friendship and cooperation of other nations. *Jai Hind*.

23. On Way to Commonwealth Conference¹

A press representative asked Nehru about his stay in Cairo.

Jawaharlal Nehru : I am unlikely to stay in Cairo on my return, owing to engagements in India.

He was asked about his views on the Asian Conference on Indonesia.

JN: It was an informal gathering but India was trying to give it shape on a Government basis.

Another correspondent asked for Nehru's comments on problems of communism in India.

JN: India is not fighting communism but people who engage in sabotage and disorder. India's attitude in case of war is difficult to foresee but we are getting stronger.

He was requested to comment on the forthcoming Commonwealth conference.

JN: You will appreciate it is hardly fit and proper for me on the eve of the conference to start dilating on it.

1. Press conference at Cairo, 20 April 1949. Based on reports from *The Hindustan Times*, 21 April and *Hindusthan Standard*, 21 and 22 April 1949.

24. Arrival in London¹

I have just arrived here from India, which I left only last night, after having had a very comfortable and peaceful journey. Now suddenly I have to submit to the peaceful tyranny of the press and radio.

It is difficult to say anything very special. I am very happy to be here after six months and I hope the week's talks opening today will have a happy ending.

1. Broadcast recorded at Heathrow Airport, London, 20 April 1949. *The Hindustan Times*, 12 April 1949.

25. Comment on the World Situation¹

I am very cheerful about everything in the world in general in spite of the badness of the world.

1. Interview with the press, Heathrow Airport, London, 20 April 1949. From *The Hindustan Times*, 22 April 1949.

26. Cable to Vallabhbhai Patel¹

I spent yesterday and this morning in private talks with Attlee, Fraser,² Pearson,³

1. London, 22 April 1949. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 8, pp. 12-13.
2. Peter Fraser (1884-1950); Minister of Education, Health, Marine and Police in New Zealand, 1935-40; Prime Minister, 1940-49.
3. L.B. Pearson (1897-1972); Canadian Ambassador to Washington, 1945-46; Minister for External Affairs, 1948-57; Prime Minister, 1963-68.

and Chifley.⁴ At 11. A.M. today there was full informal conference of all Dominion representatives at which after introductory speech by Attlee I explained our position and other Dominion spokesmen expressed their respective points of view. United Kingdom, Canada and in particular Malan⁵ showed clear and sympathetic understanding of our position. Australia and New Zealand while expressing desire for our continuing membership of Commonwealth were emphatic that any adjustment of India's continuing membership of Commonwealth to her impending status of Republic must in no way change or weaken nexus of allegiance to King for those member nations which desire to keep it. They made it clear that any other solution would be entirely unacceptable to their people and would create grave political difficulties for them. Liaquat and Senanayake also proclaimed their adherence to link of allegiance. Conference then adjourned till Monday 24 afternoon on understanding that Attlee as Chairman would circulate something in writing which would bring together points of view expressed during discussion and provide basis for discussion.

2. This afternoon I met Attlee and Cripps to draft paper. It was agreed that to meet those who insist on retention of nexus of allegiance to King, there should be two complementary declarations, one which would bring out this nexus, and other by India alone which would emphasize:-

(A) India's new status of sovereign independent Republic and;

(B) her acceptance of King as symbol of free association of members of Commonwealth.

Two drafts provisionally agreed upon which are being circulated with covering note by Attlee today are repeated in my immediately following telegram. Declaration proposed to be made by Australia etc. needs no comments. Draft declaration suggested for India provides for acceptance by India of King as 'Head of Commonwealth,' as the symbol of the free association of the independent member nations within the Commonwealth. I made it clear that we did not like phrase 'Head of Commonwealth' and that this description might prove very difficult of acceptance in India. Had we been dealing with United Kingdom alone we should probably have succeeded in getting the phrase eliminated. Both Attlee and Cripps however pointed out that 'Symbol of Free Association' would not by itself suffice and that 'Head of Commonwealth' was only phrase which after prolonged consideration they had thought of as adequate title. They had originally proposed 'Head of

4. Joseph Benedict Chifley (1885-1951); Acting Prime Minister of Australia, April to July 1945; Prime Minister, 1945-49.

5. Daniel Francois Malan (1874-1959); Prime Minister of South Africa and Minister for External Affairs, 1948-54.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Commonwealth and Symbol of Free Association' but under pressure by me agreed to change it to 'Head of Commonwealth as Symbol of Free Association.' This phraseology has effect of limiting 'Headship' of Commonwealth to 'Symbol of Free Association'.

3. You will observe that neither declaration refers to Commonwealth citizenship. It is agreed to enact legislation on this subject which should be expressed in separate short resolution.

4. I shall be grateful to have your comments not later than evening of Sunday 24 April.

5. Kindly send reply to me marked to Krishna Menon strictly personal and with words 'To be deciphered by chief cipher clerk on duty only.'

27. Cable to Vallabhbhai Patel¹

Continuation my telegrams Nos: 6269 and 6270 dated 22nd April.² In first paragraph of proposed Declaration by Australia, New Zealand etc., phrase "British Commonwealth of Nations" occurs. This is only because this is present correct description of Commonwealth. As you will observe, all subsequent reference in this Declaration, and in Declaration proposed to be made on behalf of India, is to "Commonwealth of Nations," phrase "British" is, therefore, to be dropped hereafter.

1. London, 23 April 1949. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. See preceding item.

28. Cable to Vallabhbhai Patel¹

Many thanks for your Tel. No. 4180 dated 23rd April.² Weekend informal talks revealed preference for one Declaration by all. After discussion at yesterday's morning meeting, revised draft, repeated in my immediately following telegram³ was generally agreed upon. Following outstanding points will be discussed today:

(1) Insertion of "British" before "Commonwealth". Australia and New Zealand are keen on this. We have made it clear that while we shall not oppose such insertion, in first paragraph, which purports to state present statutory position, we shall not agree to addition of "British" to "Commonwealth" anywhere else in draft.

(2) "Head of Commonwealth", South Africa does not like it and has reserved its final view on use of phrase till this morning. We do not propose to object to retention though equally we shall accept omission.

1. London, 26 April 1949. File No. 32(52)/48-PMS.
2. Referring to Nehru's cable of 22 April 1949, Patel agreed that the recognition of King as head of the Commonwealth as a "symbol of free association of its members" was consistent with India's status as a sovereign Republic. But he suggested that declaration of allegiance to the Crown by other members should be as a "bond of unity between themselves and not as members of Commonwealth" as the declaration as it stood, was "suggestive of an inferior class of membership for us."
3. Nehru to Vallabhbhai Patel, 26 April 1949: "The Governments of the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan and Ceylon, whose countries are united as members of the Commonwealth and owe a common allegiance to the Crown, which is also the symbol of their free association, have considered the impending constitutional changes in India. The Government of India have informed the other Governments of the Commonwealth, of the intention of the Indian people that under the new Constitution which is about to be adopted, India shall become a Sovereign Independent Republic. The Government of India have however declared and affirmed India's desire to continue her full membership of the Commonwealth and her acceptance of the King as the 'Symbol of the Free Association' of the independent member nations and thus the 'Head of the Commonwealth'. The Governments of the other countries of the Commonwealth, the basis of whose membership of the Commonwealth is not hereby changed, accept and recognize India's continuing membership in accordance with the terms of this declaration. Accordingly the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan and Ceylon hereby declare that they remain united as free and equal members of the Commonwealth of Nations freely, cooperating in the pursuit of peace, liberty and progress." Nehru had got the word "security" replaced by "liberty".

(3) In clause "Basis of whose membership of the Commonwealth is not hereby changed" in Para 2., Pakistan has expressed preference for substitution of relationship with "for membership of". This is inaccurate because declaration does not change basis of relationship among members of Commonwealth but basis of membership since India renounces allegiance to King and others do not. Pakistan amendment has no support and may not be pressed.

No reference to Commonwealth citizenship is proposed in declaration. In minutes of Conference, however, provision will be made that each member government of Commonwealth will take steps to ensure (i) That nationals of other member nations are not treated as foreigners and (ii) that India's trade is not treated as trade with foreign country.

Conference should finish by tomorrow.

29. Cable to Vallabhbhai Patel¹

Continuation of my earlier telegrams of today. At this morning's meeting, draft Declaration repeated in my telegram 6350² of today was discussed. Word "British" was inserted before "Commonwealth" in first paragraph but does not occur anywhere else. South Africa will agree to retention of "Head of Commonwealth" but there will be a record in the minutes as follows:

In reply to a question by Dr. Malan, the meeting agreed that it should be placed on record that the Declaration of the King as Head of the Commonwealth does not connote any change in the constitutional relations existing between the members of the Commonwealth and, in particular, does not imply that the King discharges any constitutional function by virtue of the Headship.

This will not be in the Declaration but could be used for explanatory purposes. Pakistan did not press for change mentioned in Para 1 (3) of my telegram.³ Declaration is likely to be finalized at this evening's meeting, practically as it stands.

1. London, 26 April 1949. File No. 32(52)/48-PMS.
2. See item 28, fn. 3.
3. See preceding item.

2. General feeling of meeting was that to avoid embarrassment with press which must ensue if nothing is published at end of Conference, Declaration itself should be made public. As most Prime Ministers agreed to accept Declaration on behalf of their governments, I have agreed to do likewise. I shall telegraph date of publication as soon as this has been determined. If necessary, I shall also telegraph full text of what is to be issued to press.

30. Cable to Vallabhbhai Patel¹

Doctor Malan's attitude in Prime Ministers' meetings has been very helpful.² He is an able and intelligent man though rather hard. I invited him to lunch today and we talked about South African Indian problem. Talk was friendly with expressions on each side of strong desire to find solution but no way out discovered. Malan seems to think that best way is for repatriation of Indians and is prepared to give liberal contributions even to extent of hundred million pounds. He realized, however, that it was difficult for us to approve of this.

Though our talk did not yield results it did help in creating a better atmosphere for considering this problem in future.

1. London, 27 April 1949. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. Malan said that the present strength and cohesion of the Commonwealth was 'strikingly demonstrated' by the very fact that India, though intending to become a Republic, desired to continue as a member. The capacity of the Commonwealth to adapt itself to changing circumstances was the main cause of its survival. A further step in this direction, in his opinion, "would ensure its continued existence, preserve its integrity, enhance its prestige and increase its usefulness and power in the world."

31. Cooperation in the Commonwealth¹

I agree that it must be of the essence of an association like the Commonwealth that its members should consult one another on all matters of common concern and cooperate with one another to the fullest possible extent. I must point out, however, that their cooperation would be determined not by any formal commitments accepted in advance, but by their friendly and understanding approach to common problems. The world situation is very complex, for example, the present situation in China. Although countries of the Commonwealth should be prepared to defend themselves against aggression, it would be a mistake to base their policies primarily on the need for mutual assistance in such defence. If war were imminent, preparation for defence would be inevitable. But the first object of their policy should be to prevent war, for experience after two world wars has shown that war can only intensify the very conditions which create that social dissatisfaction and unrest on which communism flourishes. The handling of nationalist movements in Indonesia and Indo-China by the Dutch and the French respectively are example of policies calculated to encourage those forces which aim at the violent overthrow of European domination in Asia. The removal of these irritants to public opinion in Asia would make a much greater contribution to the cause of international security than any military precautions which could be taken.

Political developments in Asia over the next few years will have an important influence throughout the world and the Commonwealth must take note of the obvious moral, namely, that developments in Asia would turn very largely on the attitude of the masses who are not already committed to any particular ideology, and therefore, it is vitally important that the democratic countries should do nothing at this stage which might cause these people to look elsewhere for inspiration and assistance. Throughout Asia, and even in India, there is still suspicion of European domination, though in India there has been a remarkable change during the past two years in the attitude of public opinion towards the United Kingdom. It is against this background of suspicion that Commonwealth policy will be judged in India. Unless these susceptibilities are kept constantly in mind, the influence of the Commonwealth in Asia cannot be strengthened...

1. Intervention at a meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers and the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Canada, London, 27 April 1949. Extracts from a report on the Commonwealth Conference. Cabinet Secretariat Papers.

32. Cable to Vallabhbhai Patel¹

Besides Malan's minute on 'Headship of Commonwealth'² which had already been telegraphed to you today, there are two other agreed minutes, one suggested by Liaquat Ali Khan³ and other on preferential treatment.⁴ Text of these two is being telegraphed separately.

I suggest that you hold informal press conference on Thursday, 28 April, at which significance from our point of view Declaration can be explained. In this connection, you can make use of substance of Malan's minute to bring out significance of King's 'Headship of Commonwealth.'

Please note that text of none of three minutes referred to in paragraph is for publication.

1. London, 27 April 1949. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 8, p. 22.
2. See cable to Vallabhbhai Patel, 26 April 1949, *ante*, item 30, fn. 3.
3. "... While it was not possible to bind future meetings or Governments, it would be logically assumed that a future meeting would accord the same treatment to any other member as has been accorded to India by this meeting." The minute was recorded in response to a point made by Liaquat Ali Khan, reserving the right in future for Pakistan to become a Republic.
4. It was agreed that all countries of the Commonwealth should continue to regard themselves as not foreign in relation to one another. Each Government should maintain the right to accord preferential treatment to the citizen and trade of other Commonwealth countries, while retaining the freedom to determine the extent of that preferential treatment and the method of according it.

33. Cable to Vallabhbhai Patel¹

We have already sent you copy of Declaration and minutes of Prime Ministers' meeting.² All Prime Ministers visited the King today to inform him of decision

1. London, 27 April 1949. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 8, pp. 23-24.
2. The Prime Ministers affirmed the desire of all the members including India to continue their association in the Commonwealth. India's decision to become a Sovereign Independent Republic and her desire to continue her membership of the Commonwealth on the basis of equality was accepted. India being a Republic would regard the King as "the symbol of free association" in the Commonwealth while other Commonwealth nations are expected to reaffirm their allegiance to the Crown.

taken which he welcomed. During Conference Canada's and South Africa's attitude very favourable to us. Australia and New Zealand attitude very friendly but too much tied up with old conception of British Commonwealth to like any change.³ Pakistan rather obstructive. Ceylon did not seem to understand what was happening. U.K. Government generally helpful trying to steer middle course. I think that decisions arrived at are good from our point of view. India's new status as completely independent republic fully recognized. At the same time she is equal member of Commonwealth. No commitment in regard to internal or external policy. In future Commonwealth to be known as Commonwealth of Nations and King's designation as Head of Commonwealth specially related to his being symbol. Minute attached makes clear that King as such symbol has no functions of any kind. It has been made perfectly clear that Commonwealth is no super State in any sense but is organization of independent members. I should have preferred deletion of Head of Commonwealth but under circumstances it was not worthwhile fighting for this. On the whole however I feel that decisions are good. Work of Prime Ministers' Conference carried on with good temper except occasional Pakistan intrusions. General satisfaction prevails all round. I have suggested to you to meet informally some pressmen in this regard and express to them significance of decisions which in fact completely meet our viewpoint.⁴ I am having final interview with King on Friday. This will be my last interview as one of his Prime Ministers. I am going to Dublin Friday tomorrow at invitation of Government there. Spending Saturday and Sunday at Broadlands leaving London Tuesday morning for Switzerland. Hope reach Bombay 6 May night by Air India.

3. The Prime Ministers of Australia and New Zealand while welcoming India's desire to continue as a member of the Commonwealth were emphatic that nothing should be done which would modify the allegiance of their respective countries to Crown or the relations of those countries with the United Kingdom and with other Commonwealth countries which retained that allegiance.
4. In his reply of 28 April, Patel said: "As desired by you, I held an informal press conference today. Reactions at press conference seem generally favourable."

34. To W.L. Mackenzie King¹

London
27 April, 1949

My dear Mr. Mackenzie King,²

Mr. Pearson brought me your letter of April 14th and I was very happy to receive

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

2. (1874-1950); Prime Minister of Canada, 1921-1930 and 1935-1948.

it. I remember with great pleasure our meetings here in October last.² If it had been at all possible for you to be present at our recent meetings, I am sure all of us would have welcomed it greatly.

Our labours ended today and no doubt you will know all about them long before you get this letter. We have come to historic decisions which would have far-reaching consequences but I think the most notable feature of these discussions has been the manner in which all of us have approached vital problems. There was good temper throughout and a spirit of friendliness, and a desire to understand and meet the other's viewpoint. This has shown to me even more than anything else that the way one does things and the spirit which animates a person in doing it, is at least as important and sometimes more important than the thing itself. I should like to say that Mr. Pearson was particularly helpful in our meetings and I found myself in a great deal of agreement with him over many matters. We have embarked upon our new venture in a spirit of hope and optimism. I am sure this will yield fruitful results for all of us....

I shall be going back to India in another four or five days. I shall carry back with me pleasant memories of this meeting here and of the friendly spirit of the representatives from the other countries of the Commonwealth who had gathered here.

With all good wishes to you.

Ever yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Nehru met Mackenzie King in London during Commonwealth Premiers' Conference in October 1948.

POLITICAL PARTIES

I. Congress Affairs

1. To Rafi Ahmed Kidwai¹

New Delhi

18 February 1949

My dear Rafi,

I have your second letter of today's date with its enclosures.² I am quite clear that you should not write to the press. There has been enough wrong procedure about this business already. We must be more correct in future. It is not a question of Pantji or Tandonji writing to the press. I propose to take charge of this matter. I have already written to Tandonji and Pantji and on receipt of their replies we shall have to determine what further steps we should take. I am also writing to Dr. Pattabhi. It may be desirable for you to issue a statement, but that must wait till other formalities have been complied with.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Kidwai wrote that since a "whispering campaign" had been going on against him and a report had already appeared in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* about alleged embezzlement of funds by "a very high-ranking Congressman," it was imperative that he should also give to the press his side of the story.

2. To G.B. Pant¹

New Delhi

18 February 1949

My dear Pantji,

I enclose a copy of a letter I am sending to Purushottam Das Tandon.² I need not add anything to it, except to express my amazement at the casual way in which things are done in the U.P. Congress. Whatever has been done, cannot be undone. But the matter must now be dealt with in a proper way. I shall be grateful to have your views on this subject and your advice.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. See next item.

3. To Purushottamdas Tandon¹

New Delhi

18 February 1949

My dear Tandon,

Some days ago I heard rather vaguely from second hand sources about the proceedings of the last meeting of the Council of the U.P.P.C.C. held in Lucknow. I was told that Chandra Bhan Gupta wrote a letter to you, making serious charges against Rafi Ahmed Kidwai.² This letter was read out to the Council. I do not know the details of what happened. I was naturally concerned with this matter both from the point of view of the Central Government and our Provincial Government and the Congress. I mentioned it privately to the Governor-General and to Sardar Patel. I did not speak to anyone about it. I waited for further information. I expected that in view of what must be considered as a very serious development in our provincial politics and Congress affairs affecting a Minister of the Central Government you might perhaps write to me on the subject or perhaps Pantji might write to me. It seemed to me that matters could not be allowed to rest where they were.

I heard subsequently that Rafi Ahmed had written to you and Pantji as also to Dr. Pattabhi.³ Again I waited for further developments and did not speak to Rafi Ahmed on the subject.

Today Rafi Ahmed has sent me a letter drawing my attention to what happened at the U.P. Council meeting and to a reference in the press to this meeting.⁴ He has also sent me a copy of Chandra Bhan Gupta's letter of 2 February addressed to you as President of the P.C.C. There are some other papers he has sent me also in regard to these matters. He has asked Dr. Pattabhi for an inquiry into this matter. He wished also to issue a press statement in view of the news item which appeared in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*.⁵ I have told him not to issue any press statement because this is not merely a personal matter but something which affects the prestige of both the Central Government and the Provincial Government as well as the Congress. This has to be dealt with, therefore, on another level than that of press statements by individuals.

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 8, pp. 289-290.

2. On 2 February 1949, Chandra Bhan Gupta wrote to Purushottamdas Tandon charging Kidwai with not depositing the Congress funds with the treasurer; not informing the Congress office about the money for two years, and for spending the money as he liked.

3. In his letter of 10 February 1949 to Tandon and on 11 February 1949 to Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Kidwai strongly denied the charges against him and demanded an enquiry into them.

4. See *ante*, Nehru to Kidwai, 18 February.

5. See item 1, fn. 2.

I must confess that I was feeling surprised that such a serious charge could have been made to the Council without any attempt previously to verify it from the persons concerned. Even after verification the matter should have been referred to me and then we could have taken such action as was deemed proper. Now there is no doubt that the charges are public property. They cannot be left there and something has got to be done. What exactly that should be, I am not clear in my mind at present, because I do not know all the facts. I shall be grateful to you if you could let me know such facts as are in your possession regarding what happened at the P.C.C. meeting, what steps were taken to verify the charges made before the letter was read out, what answers have been sent to Rafi Ahmed Kidwai to the explanation he has given, and what the P.C.C. proposes to do now.

Please treat this matter as urgent.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Pantji.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. To Pattabhi Sitaramayya¹

New Delhi
18 February 1949

My dear Pattabhi,

I have received a letter from Rafi Ahmed Kidwai with a number of enclosures.² This is in regard to certain allegations and charges made against him in a letter addressed to the President of the U.P.P.C.C. and read out at a meeting of the Executive Council of the P.C.C. This raises important and serious questions. I understand that he was written to you on this subject and asked for an enquiry.³ I should like to know what steps you have taken in this matter or what you propose to do. As this matter is not merely a personal one but affects the honour of not only one of my colleagues in the Government and in the Congress, but the

1. J.N. Collection.

2. See *ante*, letter from Nehru to Kidwai, 18 February 1949.

3. Kidwai wrote to Pattabhi Sitaramayya on 11 February 1949 saying that the complaints made against him were "in factional spirit" and sought an immediate enquiry by the Congress.

Government itself, I propose to deal with it myself in future. I have written to Pantji⁴ and Purushottam Das Tandon⁵ and asked them for an immediate reply. On hearing from them and from you, I shall determine what action I should take.

Quite apart from the validity or otherwise of the charges made, I must confess to a feeling of extreme surprise at the casualness and irresponsibility of the procedure followed thus far. The matter has been referred to in the press⁶ and therefore cannot be allowed to rest where it is. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai wanted to issue a press statement himself, but I have asked him not to do so at present until I hear from Pantji and Tandon and decide what should be done.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. See item 2.
5. See item 3.
6. Press reports appeared on this issue in *Pioneer* on 17 February, *Amrita Bazar Patrika* on 18 February, and the Hindi daily *Dainik Sandesh* on 20 February 1949.

5. To Rafi Ahmed Kidwai¹

New Delhi
24 February 1949

My dear Rafi,

Your letter of today's date.² I have written to Tandon and Pantji. I have sent a reminder also. I gathered that Tandon was away from Lucknow and hence the delay in my receiving an answer.

I realize that press references are irritating. But I do not think you will lose anything or that the public cause will suffer by some delay in this matter. I doubt very much if the references that have already appeared affect you in any injurious way. Generally they are in the nature of a challenge from you demanding a full enquiry.

As soon as I get replies to my letters, I may ask the people concerned to come to Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Kidwai wrote that as advised by Nehru he had not issued a press statement, but since interested parties were continuing press propaganda, it would be better to deal publicly with the matter.

6. To Satyanarayan Sinha¹

New Delhi

4 March 1949

My dear Satyanarayan,

I should like you to arrange for early meeting of the full Party to consider a matter of great importance both to the Party and to the Government. Members of the Party in the House criticize the Government as they have every right to do.² But the present position is that the Government itself, the officers of Government and indeed almost everybody connected with Government, is accused of every kind of incompetence, nepotism and sometimes worse. There is a constant stream of this kind of condemnation and it is often supported by so-called instances which have no basis in fact. I think this position must be cleared up. A responsible Government means that the members of the Government are responsible to the Legislature and, through the Legislature, to the public. It also means that the members of the Legislature act responsibly and there is to be a fairly close liaison between the Government and the Party that supports it. If either of these conditions of responsibility are absent, the Government cannot function as a responsible Government.

A situation is being created which is making it rapidly impossible for the Government and the officers of Government to function. The public are given the impression that members of the Government and their officers are a set of incompetents and possibly self-seekers. Foreigners get the same impression. That is surely not good for the country and it is for the Party to consider what should be done in the circumstances. It is entirely open to them to change the Government and have people in whose capacity and honesty they have greater confidence. I can assure the Party, that the present members of Government have absolutely no desire to shoulder a responsibility which they are not supposed to be good enough to hold.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 32(195)/49-PMS.

2. The Government came in for strong criticism on 22 February 1949 from some Congress members of the Central Legislative Assembly including Durgabai, Deshbandhu Gupta and H.V. Kamath regarding corruption in the railways and in the police (particularly of the Central Provinces and Berar).

7. To Pattabhi Sitaramayya¹

New Delhi
7 March 1949

My dear Pattabhi,

At today's Party meeting Sardar Patel referred explicitly to certain statements made by Prafulla Babu.² Apart from what has appeared in the newspapers, I have had a report of a speech delivered by him to the same effect, that is, that Sardar should either resign or be dismissed. Now Prafulla Babu is a member of the Congress Working Committee and what he says obviously has weight. I think this matter should be carefully considered by us in the Working Committee. I trust therefore that you will refer to it at the next Working Committee meeting.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Prafulla Chandra Ghose said that Patel and Morarji Desai should be held morally responsible for murder of Mahatma Gandhi for failing to make sufficient arrangements after the first attempt on Gandhiji's life on 20 January 1948. Both of them, therefore, "in all fairness to the country should retire from the Ministry."

8. Complaints against the Government¹

Will you please inform the members of the Legislature that my office will gladly help them, in so far as it can do it, in enquiring into any complaint or getting any other information. It will be advantageous to members of the Legislature and to the Government to have such informal enquiries made and facts ascertained, as far as possible, before any other step is taken.

I should like to make myself available to members who wish to see me. Naturally my time is often taken up, but in spite of this, in regard to any important matter or even otherwise, I shall try to find time whenever any member desires to see

1. Note to Satyanarayan Sinha, Chief Whip, Congress Legislature Party, 8 March 1949, New Delhi.

me. Usually it will be more convenient for the members as well as for me if any particular matter is first mentioned to my Principal Private Secretary or my Private Secretary, who can immediately make enquiries and inform me of the result of these enquiries.

I understand that you have already addressed members of our Party and asked them to communicate with you in regard to complaints.² I think this would be a good convention to develop. What I have suggested above is something to complement what you have already done, where this is necessary. We should not have any overlapping as far as possible.

2. Sinha wrote on 8 March to Congress members in the legislature that inaccurate and unproved accusations against Government officials in Parliament lowered the dignity of the House and the efficiency of administration. He suggested that they should communicate all details of such matters to him as the Chief Whip, and he could ascertain the facts from concerned ministries. Then consultations could be held and further course of action decided.

9. To K.C. Neogy¹

New Delhi
20 March 1949

My dear Neogy,

I have just received your letter.² I must say that you surprise me. I have no intention whatever to relieve you and I am quite sure that not only all my colleagues in the Cabinet but also the Party as a whole would be much upset at the prospect of your leaving us. Because one or two persons, for reasons of their own, criticized something that had happened a year ago,³ this has nothing to do with either the Party's feeling or your work generally. You know that I am criticized pretty fiercely often enough, but I survive it. The moment I feel that I am not wanted, I shall fade away, but not till then.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Neogy wanted to submit his resignation as his policies and functioning were criticized in Parliament on several occasions.
3. Ramnath Goenka criticized Neogy for liberalizing the import-export policy, for importing non-essential items and for distributing licences to all and sundry. He said that Neogy was not presenting the proper facts.

10. To K.C. Neogy¹

New Delhi
March 21, 1949

My dear Neogy,

It is clear from what you write that you have followed up this matter and taken all the steps that you could take.² As this question has been raised in the Party meeting, I think it would be a good thing if, at a subsequent meeting, you could briefly explain these facts to them. Meanwhile it would be desirable for you to send for the four Party members whom you once saw previously, that is, Goenka³, Deshbandhu Gupta, Jhunjhunwala⁴ and Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, as well as the Chief Whip and perhaps one or two other members and place these facts before them.

I entirely agree with you that they are unreasonable in raising this matter in the manner they have done. I am not so much concerned with their views in the matter, but it is possible that a number of members of the Party might have become confused, as they did not know all the facts. We have always not only to do the right thing but convince others that we have done so. In any event it is due to the Party to be informed.

I am returning the file to you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Neogy had explained that the misuse of power by his Ministry had actually happened during the period of his predecessor. He allowed the Enquiry Committee, instituted at suggestion of some members of Parliament, to examine the matter, and the Committee declared that 'no further action in regard to the matter was considered necessary.' He defended his import-export policy in Parliament on 24 February.

3. Ramnath Goenka.

4. Banarasi Prasad Jhunjhunwala (1888-1967); Member, Central Legislative Assembly, 1946-47; Member, Constituent Assembly, 1947-50; Member, Provisional Parliament, 1950-52; Member, First Lok Sabha, 1952-57.

11. No Bickerings¹

We have decided that India should be a Republic. The country will formally be declared a Republic before long. This has been our dream for the last twenty to twenty-five years. The people stand solemnly by their past pledges. Even at present we are practically working as a Republic and there are no restrictions on our internal or external functions. Without restricting our freedom, India might forge some sort of link with the Commonwealth which will benefit us and enable us to contribute to the preservation of world peace.

The manner in which the new relationship will be established cannot be foretold at the present moment. It has to be decided after consultations with other parties. Just as we look at that important problem from our point of view so naturally other countries also look at it from their points of view.

There are some legal complications in deciding this new relationship, because there is no historical precedent for it. The past concept of Dominions is dead and Canada and other countries also hesitate to call themselves Dominions.

India is determined to remain aloof from any bloc as hitherto. India is not interested in military pacts with any power for purposes of aggression. Similarly there is no question of our joining the Atlantic or the Pacific Pacts.

Technically and formally there are some restrictions on us. The appointments of Governor-General, Ambassadors etc. are made by us, though they are formally announced by the Crown.

After the establishment of a full-fledged Republic, no doubt our past pledges will be fulfilled and these formalities will go. Then we shall have to decide as to what relationship we shall have with other countries and if there is any relationship at present, then to what extent shall it be maintained or broken.

If there are any restrictions on our freedom they are not imposed by any country but by realities. Merely by declaring a Republic we shall not be entirely free. There are some countries which though technically independent republics are subjected to foreign influence.

I am shocked by the personal bickerings among Congressmen in U.P. If you continue to level charges and counter-charges publicly, it will spell your ruin.²

1. Address to Congress members of the Assembly and workers at Lucknow, 3 April 1949. From *The Hindustan Times*, 4 April 1949.
2. Differences between the Tandon and Kidwai groups were widely reported in the U.P. newspapers.

I have been entrusted with the task of looking into certain complaints about "mismanagement of funds" and I will submit a report on the matter after consultations with the President of the U.P.P.C.C. There is no "dishonesty" in spending those funds though there might have been some improper methods of spending them.

Congressmen had in one sense fulfilled their pledge of Swarajya. Politically India is free, but the economic conditions of the people have not improved. There are complaints of degeneration of Congressmen.³ Some prominent names are associated with all sorts of rumours for the past two months and some of them have appeared in the press.⁴ These things, if continued, will make our work impossible.

The prestige of the Congress depended on Mahatma Gandhi and his innumerable followers. The membership of the Congress did not exceed more than fifty lakhs at any time, but there were crores of people who had regard for the Congress. Congressmen, who were only a few lakhs, could not have achieved their objectives if they acted against the wishes of 40 crores of people.

The basic factors which raise the status of Congressmen in the eyes of their countrymen are, firstly the people concurred with the ideals and objects of the Congress and, secondly they have great confidence in Congressmen due to their sacrifices and moral character.

Now Gandhiji is not there to guide them. Some other prominent leaders of the Congress have also left and others may depart. The problems have assumed supreme importance. The future of the Congress will depend on how the three or four thousand Congress workers act and live.

Mutual bickerings create great difficulties in our work. Differences, if ideological, can be understood and welcomed, but not personal squabbles. For the last two months, I am hearing these things about the U.P. I do not mean that Congress leaders here have fallen much below as compared to other provinces. I am always proud of the U.P. Congressmen.

The atmosphere of misunderstanding created by these bickerings is like that of communal riots in which no party is prepared to believe others. When two groups clash the balance is lost, and that will be a most dangerous situation for any organization or country.

3. The sub-committee on disciplinary action had referred about 500 cases of indiscipline and irregularities including Gandhi Memorial Fund Collection to the Council of the U.P.P.C.C. which met on 7 February 1949. 100 Congressmen, after investigation, were temporarily expelled or warned by the Council.
4. Chandra Bhan Gupta, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai and some others were blamed by newspapers such as the *Pioneer* and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* for corruption.

We are on the road of progress and new opportunities. Our progress will only depend on whether our steps are firm. Nobody can deceive the people for long. If fundamentally we are capable of progress, then alone shall we be able to achieve something.

We have honoured in the past a rule in the code of the Congress that a Congressman could not speak or write against any of his co-workers, publicly or privately. If there were any complaints, then they should be referred to the President of the Congress or some such appropriate authority. That rule is still in the code but it is not observed and at today's meeting the Council of the U.P.P.C.C. has reiterated their faith in it.

It has become a sort of pastime with some people to discredit the Congress. If the opponents of the Congress do it, it is understandable. But when Congress themselves indulge in such criticism, it amounts to cutting their own noses. We must be very cautious and particularly when we are connected with the Government.

In India, as elsewhere, conditions created after the war to a certain extent relaxed restrictions on the people. Efforts are being made to eradicate the evils of black-marketing and corruption, which are born of the post-war abnormal conditions.

I know that corruption is still reported at many places and Congressmen also may not have remained aloof, but in my opinion, corruption and black-marketing are on a much smaller scale than they are talked about and whatever there was, is slowly disappearing. There is no country in Asia, and certainly very few in Europe, which have these evils to a lesser degree than in India.

India faced numerous difficulties after partition and the aftermath of vivisection created great obstacles in the path of smooth administration. Overnight the railways, telegraphs, canals etc. which were India's nerves, were cut off and the services were also divided. If there had been peace it would have been possible to deal with the situation more calmly. But at that time there was unprecedented bloodshed. In spite of all that, we crossed those hurdles and settled down to consolidate our nascent State.

Pakistan is based on the communalism of the Muslim League, and the post-partition era gave birth to the R.S.S.⁵ I am convinced that if India had followed the policy of the R.S.S. she would have perished long ago.

India's defence forces had proved to be worthy of their past traditions. Our army may not have much modern military equipment as compared to some of the advanced nations of the world, but it has men of discipline and intellect.

5. The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh was founded in 1925 as a cultural body aimed at regenerating Hindu society. Under the presidency of M.S. Golwalkar from 1940 onwards, it took on a political role in opposing the partition of India.

Our Government has not been able to do much to improve the economic conditions of the people. The main reasons for this are, firstly, they are engaged in solving the most abnormal problems created by the partition, secondly, the complicated nature of the economic problems, and, thirdly, hesitation on the part of the Congress Governments to take any such hasty step which might interrupt production for even a short period.

The economic conditions will not be improved by change in the existing law, but through more production. We have definitely turned the corner. Our economic conditions are changing and we shall be able to achieve substantial economic progress during the next five or six months. Our country is advancing on the path of progress and no power on earth can stop it.

12. To Purushottamdas Tandon¹

New Delhi
12 April 1949

My dear Purushottamdas,

Thank you for your letter of the 5th April² with which you sent me copies of certain letters and other papers.

You know that I have been more than fully occupied during these past few days. Apart from the other major problems that we have had to deal with, the last days of the Assembly brought a rush of work and then there was the Congress Working Committee meetings, and problems connected with my approaching visit of England. As I write, Thakin Nu, the Prime Minister of Burma, is here on a special visit³ and I have to give much time to him.

Nevertheless I have thought U.P. Congress affairs so important and the reference made to me by the P.C.C. Executive Council so urgent that I have managed to steal some time from other activities and occupations. I have carefully gone through the various papers that you have sent me now and previously as well as other material that I had. I enclose my report.⁴ Given more time, I could, I suppose, have written a more detailed report. But in the circumstances I could not do much more. This report contains my conclusions.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Purushottamdas informed Nehru of the prevailing tension in the U.P.P.C.C. which was increasing day by day with corruption charges and counter charges made by some important Congress leaders against each other.

3. Thakin Nu arrived in Delhi on 12 April 1949.

4. See *post*, items 13 and 14.

You will of course deal with this report, as you think fit. That is for you to decide. I do feel however that in view of garbled accounts and insinuations appearing in the press, some kind of a brief statement is necessary. If you are of the same opinion, I hope that you will issue such a statement to the press.

I am sending a copy of this report to Shri Govind Ballabh Pant and Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai. I am requesting them to treat it as a secret document. I am not giving it to anyone else.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

13. Report to President, U.P. Provincial Congress Committee¹

Purushottamdas Tandon, President of the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee, has sent me some papers and correspondence relating to certain charges and counter-charges made to him as President, P.C.C.² The matter came up before a meeting of the Executive Council of the P.C.C. on the 3rd April 1949. The Executive Council then decided to refer these matters to me and it is in pursuance of this resolution that the President has sent me these papers.

2. I have gone through all these papers and letters, as well as some other papers which the President of the P.C.C. and Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai had sent me previously.³ I should have preferred to deal with these matters in some detail, but preoccupation in important matters prevents me from doing so at present. Within a few days I am leaving for England to attend an important conference in London and I am likely to be away for two or three weeks. I do not wish to delay matters till then. I am, therefore, sending this brief note on the matters referred to me. Though this note is relatively brief, it contains, I think the relevant facts and my conclusions.

1. J.N. Collection, 12 April 1949.

2. Kidwai had sent the letters written to Purushottamdas Tandon by Chandra Bhan Gupta, Bansī Dhar Mishra and Dau Dayal Khanna. Tandon sent along with his letter of 24 February 1949, the text of the decisions taken by the Executive Council on 8 February 1949 and the report which had appeared in the *Pioneer* on 17 February 1949.

3. On 18 February 1949.

3. Although various charges and counter-charges by Congressmen in the U.P. against each other had been made for some time past,⁴ the matter referred to me has its origin in a letter dated 7th February 1949, addressed by Shri ChandraBhan Gupta to the President of the U.P.P.C.C. Subsequent to this some other letters were sent to the President of the P.C.C. Among these is a letter from Shri Bansi Dhar Misra and Shri Dau Dayal Khanna,⁵ dated sometime in February⁶ (the exact date is not mentioned in the copies supplied to me), also a letter from Shri Chandra Bhan Gupta dated 17th February 1949 with its enclosures.⁷ I have also seen a copy of a letter dated February 10th sent by Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai to the President of the P.C.C.⁸

4. There has been an unfortunate tendency among Congressmen in the U.P., as elsewhere, to throw out charges against other Congressmen without any attempt to justify them or verify them. Sometimes this is mere repetition of what has been heard. It is clear that both this preferment of a charge or a counter-charge or a repetition of it to another, is most undesirable both from the private and public points of view. Indeed the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee has all along emphasized that Congressmen should not make any such charge or criticism in public, by speech or writing. The proper course is for any charge or criticism to be made to the appropriate authority. Also that it is improper to prefer any charge without some *prima facie* evidence. Unfortunately, in spite of this well-recognized convention and direction of the P.C.C., charges have been made in public and private and these charges have provoked counter-charges, till the air is thick with mutual accusations and insinuations. It is obvious that even apart from the private ill-will created by this, the standards of public work deteriorate and the Congress suffers very greatly in prestige. Any Congressman, therefore, who indulges in this kind of activity, does an ill-service to the Congress and to public life. The Congress has, in the past, built up a tradition of public service and sacrifice and has always

4. While Chandra Bhan Gupta accused Kidwai of not providing the full accounts of the funds received from J.P. Srivastava, an industrialist from Kanpur, Kidwai, in his turn, accused Gupta of taking bribe of Rs. 58,000/- for granting a permit to a "gentleman from Azamgarh."
5. A Congress leader from Kanpur, jailed in 1930 and 1932 for participating in civil disobedience movement.
6. On 2 February 1949 Bansi Dhar Misra and Dau Dayal Khanna had also written letters to Tandon making similar charges, to those made by Chandra Bhan Gupta, against Kidwai. See *ante*, Nehru to Purushottamdas Tandon, 18 February 1949, fn. 2.
7. C.B. Gupta enclosed copies of his correspondence with Kidwai along with his letter which charged Kidwai with "carrying on a deliberate and planned propaganda against those who were not in his so-called group and with whom he had got no happy relations."
8. In this letter Kidwai demanded an enquiry into the charges made against him.

endeavoured to maintain certain standards in public life. These standards have recently been greatly imperilled and it is time that all Congressmen, and more especially those in authority and whose influence counts, should adhere strictly to the old standards.

5. It was in view of this that the Executive Council of the P.C.C. reiterated at its last meeting on the 3rd April, its old policy and enjoined on all Congressmen to adhere to it strictly. In future, if a complaint or a charge has got to be made, it must be made to the appropriate authority, that is, in the case of Congress matters, to the President of the P.C.C. and in regard to governmental matters, to the leader of the Congress Party. If action is not taken on such complaints, then the matter can be brought up before the executives of the Congress Party. Such complaints must be based on some *prima facie* evidence.

6. In view of this decision, as well as for other reasons, I do not think it necessary or even possible to enquire into a number of vague allegations and accusations made in the papers supplied to me. There is no proof of any kind attached and I do not think it is my function to institute enquiries into vague charges. If any Congressman desires a fuller consideration of any of these vague charges, he or she must make the charge afresh to the appropriate authority, mentioned above and do so, supported by evidence. It must be realized that any charge made which appears to be frivolous, will naturally bring some discredit to the person who makes it.

7. Therefore I do not propose to consider any of these vague charges.

8. The only substantial charge that emerges from these papers is in relation to Rs. 50,000/- received by Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai from Shri J.P. Srivastava. Also some other sums received by Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, presumably in connection with the Meerut Congress.⁹ In regard to these monies, the following questions arise:

1. Were these monies mis-applied or mis-spent.
2. Even if they were rightly spent, was the manner of doing so proper.

Some other relatively minor questions also arise.

9. In dealing with monies received for public purposes, there is one difficulty. If the money is clearly intended for a public organization, then obviously that money

9. Held on 21-24 November 1946.

should be sent to that organization and spent by it. It is, however, a frequent practice for well-known public men to be given sums of money by those who have trust in them, to be spent for a public purpose at their discretion. Many of us receive such monies. It is not open to any organization as such to claim that money or to challenge its use, because the donor has expressly stated that the donee should spend it at his discretion. Nevertheless it is incumbent, even in such cases, for the recipient of the donation to take every care in regard to accounting and proper use of this money. Even though it could be spent at his discretion, this is meant for a public purpose and it must be treated as a public fund of which he is the trustee. Such funds should be kept apart and not allowed to be mixed up in any way with private funds. Some kind of an account must be kept of them, even though there is no liability to render that account to any organization.

10. Care is also to be taken in regard to another matter. Prominent public men, and more especially those occupying high positions in Government, cannot always accept money with propriety even for a public purpose. If the money comes from a trained source or is meant in some ways indirectly to influence any decision, it should not be accepted, even though no conditions are attached. It is difficult to draw a hard and fast line in this matter and much has to be left to the judgement and discretion of the person concerned.

11. These are the general principles, as I conceive them, which should be borne in mind in regard to public funds, whether received for specific purposes or organizations, or given to be spent at discretion. Those of us, who occupy prominent positions in the Congress or in the Government of the country, have to be specially careful in dealing with money that comes from the public. Our *bonafides* may not be challenged, but a wrong procedure adopted by us may well lead others to become slack and careless and thus give an opportunity to a person, whose intentions are not good, to misuse public funds.

12. Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai has been good enough to show me his detailed accounts of the public funds received by him. Some further light in regard to one or two minor matters might have been thrown on these accounts by reference to other people. But I have not considered such reference necessary as, generally speaking, the accounts give a clear enough picture of what happened.

13. Shri Kidwai has been intimately connected with the Provincial Congress organization and has often collected money for elections and other Congress work from time to time. By virtue of his position he has often also received sums of money to be used at his discretion for public purposes. As I have said above, it is not always possible to draw a clear line between these two.

14. The main item to which a reference has been made is a sum of Rs. 50,000/- received from Shri J.P. Srivastava. It appears that when Shri Kidwai went to Kanpur to collect money for the Meerut Session of the Congress, he stayed at Dr. Jawaharlal's¹⁰ house. At Dr. Jawaharlal's instance, a number of industrialists were invited to his house. Among these was Shri J.P. Srivastava. When contributions were announced, Shri J.P. Srivastava stated that his firm would give Rs. 50,000/-. Shri Kidwai, it appears, did not view favourably at the time this invitation to the representatives of the Srivastava firm and mentioned to Dr. Jawaharlal that no attempt need be made to collect the sum of Rs. 50,000/- from them. This hesitation was due to the fact that at that time some kind of a police investigation or proceedings were pending against the Srivastava firm, and it was considered undesirable, as it undoubtedly was, to accept any money from him at that time.

15. While other monies promised were realized, Shri Srivastava did not pay his promised donation before the Meerut Congress took place. Some two months afterwards Shri J.P. Srivastava came to Shri Kidwai and produced two cheques totalling Rs. 50,000/- in payment of the promised contribution. Shri Kidwai pointed out to him that the Meerut Congress Session was over and there was no point in his giving the money then. Mr. Srivastava is said to have replied that the money had been collected from various people in his firm and anyhow he had to give it now and Shri Kidwai could spend it at his discretion for some public cause. Thereupon Shri Kidwai accepted it.

16. Very soon after, on that very day, Shri Kidwai wrote to the then President of the P.C.C., Shri Damodar Swarup, explaining to him the circumstances in which the money was placed at his disposal and suggesting that Rs. 30,000/- out of it might be spent on a Congress House that the P.C.C. intended building. He proposed to keep the balance of Rs. 20,000/- to meet a possible deficit in the Reception Committee's account. In case, however, there was no deficit, that money also would go towards the construction of the Congress House in Lucknow. A copy of this letter was sent to the Office of the U.P.P.C.C.¹¹ and another to Shri J.P. Srivastava. A day later information of this was sent to Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant by Shri Kidwai.

17. This question of building a Congress House in Lucknow was considered on several occasions by a committee appointed for that purpose, but ultimately

10. Jawaharlal Rohatgi (1887-1974); Member, U.P. Legislative Assembly, 1936, 1940-42, 1947-57; Deputy Minister, U.P. Government, 1957-59, and in 1961 for 2 months; Minister of State for Harijan and Social Welfare, U.P. Government till 13 March 1962; elected to Rajya Sabha in April 1962.

11. On 10 December 1948, Kidwai again wrote to Tandon giving details of the money received by him and its expenditure.

no decision was arrived at. There was apparently a conflict of views about the site and other matters. Shri Kidwai appears to have thought then that there was no chance of the money being utilized for that particular purpose. He spent it in other ways.

18. Shri Kidwai has been good enough to show me some of his detailed accounts. From these it appears that the following major items were spent out of this sum:

1) Paid to Provincial Congress Committee for purchase of a car	— Rs. 10,000/-
2) Paid for Mau Conference Rs. 5000/- was paid to Shri Algurai Shastri ¹² and Rs. 5000/- to the Universal Engineering Corporation, Allahabad	— Rs. 10,000/-
3) Amount spent for by-elections to U.P. Assembly. Of this Rs. 5000/- was paid to Shrimati Kamla Chaudhri, Meerut and Rs. 1000 to Shri Murali Manohar, Palia.	— Rs. 6,000/-
4) Paid for election petition expenses. This sum was paid in several instalments to Shri Ajit Prasad Jain ¹³ of Saharanpur.	— Rs. 22,000/-
5) Spent on Meerut Congress in excess of monies received.	— Rs. 1,750/-
Total	— Rs. 49,750/-

19. Apart from the above amount of Rs. 50,000/- received, Shri Kidwai received Rs. 30,250/- for the Meerut Congress. According to figures supplied by him, he spent Rs. 32,000/- in making certain payments on behalf of the Meerut Congress. This led to an excess of Rs. 1,750/- to which reference is made above.

12. Algurai Shastri (1900-1967); Secretary, Delhi P.C.C., 1930-33; Member, U.P. Legislative Assembly, 1937-52; Member, Constituent Assembly of India, 1946-50; Member of Parliament, 1956 and 1962-67.

13. Ajit Prasad Jain (1902-1977); Member, U.P. Legislative Assembly, 1937-48; Member, Constituent Assembly of India, 1946-50; Union Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation, 1950-54; Union Minister for Food and Agriculture, 1954-59; President, U.P.P.C.C. 1961-64; Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-65 and Governor of Kerala, 1965-67; Member, Rajya Sabha, April 1968-71.

20. Shri Kidwai has also supplied me with a detailed account of other sums spent by him out of monies received by him to be spent at his discretion. These are relatively small sums paid to Congress workers as a rule and to organizations like the Students' Congress. It was open to him to spend these monies for any public cause of his choice, as the money was given to him to be used at his discretion. A certain confusion however arises because two accounts of funds were occasionally mixed up in the same account and no separate accounts were kept. It is possible to separate the items because all expenditure was by cheque and we have a full record of the cheques issued.

21. The amount received by Shri Kidwai for the Meerut Congress should have been passed on by him to the Reception Committee and should have appeared in the accounts of the Reception Committee. This apparently was not done and neither the receipt nor the expenditure was shown in the Reception Committee accounts. According to Shri Kidwai, the Chairman of the Reception Committee asked him to keep this money as a kind of reserve so that it might not be spent away if it was included in the general funds of the Reception Committee. The major part of this money was later spent in paying bills of the Reception Committee, the chief of them being for hire of tents.

22. There appears to be no doubt that the money received for the Meerut Congress was spent in paying such bills etc. I think that the money should have been sent straight to the Reception Committee and the practice of keeping public funds in private hands, even if asked to do so by the persons concerned, is not to be encouraged.

23. It is also clear that the money received from Shri J.P. Srivastava was spent as indicated above. There is thus no question of misapplication of any public funds. Indeed something over and above what Shri Kidwai received has been spent by him for public purposes. Presumably this came out of his private pocket.

24. While there is no question of misapplication of these funds, it does seem to me that a little more care should have been exercised by him in this matter of dealing with public funds. It so happens that all his payments are by cheques and it is, therefore, easy to keep track of them. But the system is not a correct one. Public funds meant for an organization should immediately be sent to that organization. Even where there is some doubt, the doubt should be resolved in favour of that organization. Only where it is perfectly clear that the money is to be spent at discretion, should this be kept, and then it is desirable to keep it in an entirely separate account.

25. In regard to the Rs. 50,000/- received from Shri J.P. Srivastava, the fact that Shri Kidwai wrote on that very day to the President of the P.C.C. as well as to the Secretary and Shri Srivastava and informed Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, clearly shows that he wanted to use the money as indicated by him for Congress purposes. There was no attempt whatever to keep the money with him without informing others. The money was not spent on the purposes at first indicated, but on other purposes connected with the Congress. I think it would have been better for the money to have been handed over to the Provincial Congress Committee right at the beginning.

26. In view of the facts, which are more or less admitted, nothing more need be done in this matter. It is right that we should be vigilant, where public money is concerned. But in exercising this vigilance, we should take care that we do not make charges which cannot be substantiated and insinuations which are lacking in propriety.

27. I presume that this report of mine will be placed before the Executive Council of the P.C.C. In view of references made in the public press to charges and insinuations against prominent Congressmen in the U.P., I suggest to the President of the Council that it is desirable to issue a brief statement to the press. It would not be desirable to publish this report of mine or any other lengthy statement. However, this is for the President to judge.

Jawaharlal Nehru

14. Expenditure of Congress Funds¹

Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai has pointed out to me that the statement in my report as to how Rs. 30,250/- which he has received for the Meerut Congress were dealt with, is not quite correct. I refer to this item in paragraph 19 of my report,² and

1. Addendum to the report to the President, U.P.P.C.C., 12th April 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. See preceding item.

in paragraph 21 I say that "the amount received by Shri Kidwai for the Meerut Congress should have been passed on by him to the Reception Committee and should have appeared in the accounts of the Reception Committee. This apparently was not done and neither the receipt nor the expenditure was shown in the Reception Committee's accounts."

Shri Kidwai had mentioned this matter to me previously and I think he referred to it also at the Council meeting held at Dehra Dun on the 22nd May. But I did not then quite grasp his point in this connection. He has now told me that as a matter of fact Rs. 18,000/- out of this Rs. 30,250/- are actually entered in the published accounts of the Reception Committee. Further that remaining Rs. 14,000/- were paid by him on the recommendation of the Secretary of the Provincial Congress Committee, Shri Algurai Shastri, in discharge of certain bills for supplying tents to the Meerut Congress. The receipt for this was sent to the Provincial Congress Committee.

In view of these facts, it was not quite correct for me to state that neither the receipt nor the expenditure for Rs. 30,250/- was shown in the accounts of the Reception Committee. A part of the sum, namely Rs. 18,000/- was so entered in the Reception Committee's accounts as published. The other part was paid directly in discharge of certain bills of the Meerut Congress on the recommendation of the Secretary, U.P.P.C.C. Both these items together account for Rs. 32,000/-.

In regard to the sum of Rs. 50,000/-, it has been pointed out to me that Rs. 10,000/- were paid directly to the P.C.C., as indeed has been mentioned in my previous report.

I am sending this addendum to that report so that the correct facts might be recorded.

15. To Gopal Narain Saxena¹

New Delhi

14 April 1949

My dear Gopal Narain,²

I have your letter without date enclosing copies of a number of letters sent by you and others to the Premier of U.P., and the President of the U.P.P.C.C. I have read through these carefully.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. (1897-1976); General Secretary, U.P.P.C.C., elected to U.P. Assembly, 1946; Member, Constituent Assembly; Chairman, Parliamentary Board, Socialist Party, 1956; Chairman, Socialist Party, 1957.

It is not my business to enquire into these particular matters. Those relating to the Provincial Government should be dealt with by the Premier and those dealing with Congress matters by the President of the P.C.C. If any very serious matter comes to my notice, I can certainly draw the special attention of the Provincial Government to it.

In reading through all these letters, the impression produced in my mind is that almost every charge is rather trivial, though of course even trivial charges may have a certain importance. All this business of petty licences being given in a large province should certainly be kept in view because there is plenty of room for corruption. But normally a Minister cannot be held responsible for all these.

There is a great deal in these letters which consists of vague charges without any attempt to substantiate them. That weakens the argument greatly, because it shows that there is a deliberate attempt to find fault. There are many instances given also and some of them may well be important instances such as those mentioned in your letter of the 10th to Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant. The charge relates to a period of two years. If after full enquiry and full attempts to discover cases of corruption, only the list given has been prepared for a period of two years, the impression produced in my mind is that conditions in the U.P. cannot be very bad.

We are daily having to deal with numerous charges in regard to licensing in our Commerce Department and other Ministries. Where we get sufficient evidence, we proceed. We cannot proceed without adequate evidence and merely on a charge of favouritism. We may exercise that discretion rightly or wrongly. Unless it is shown that there was *malafides*, nothing more can be done.

In one of the letters, certain appointments are referred to. The fact that a person who is a relative is appointed, has no meaning whatever, unless it is shown that he was individually or was improperly appointed. Everybody has relatives. Normally people are chosen through special processes. If that process has been gone through, then it is nobody's fault.

In view of the last resolution of the U.P.P.C.C. Executive Council,³ I would suggest to you to revise all your charges and look at them in the light of that resolution. Any specific charges supported by real evidence might be preferred. Vague charges only injure the person making the charge. My own suggestion at the Council was that we should put aside all old charges and only consider a charge if it is freshly brought forward with evidence.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. On 8 February 1949, the Executive Council of the U.P.P.C.C. passed a resolution directing Congressmen to desist from making unsubstantiated charges against each other.

16. To Krishna Chandra¹

New Delhi
14 April 1949

My dear Krishna Chandra,

I have your letter of April 11th. Your previous letter also reached me.

I am afraid I cannot deal with such matters which relate to a province. They should either be referred to the President of the U.P.P.C.C. or to the Premier of the Province. I am, therefore, sending your letter on to Shri Purushottamdas Tandon, President, U.P.P.C.C.

Perhaps you know that the Executive Council of the U.P.P.C.C. passed a resolution² at its last meeting on the subject of the charges and accusations. No Congressman must make any charge in public against any other Congressman. If he has substantial grounds, he must refer them to the P.C.C. President or the Premier as the case may be.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. See the previous item.

POLITICAL PARTIES
II. Communist Activities

1. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi

24 February 1949

My dear Krishna,

I have just heard that Arthur Lall² is going back to London and so I am writing this letter in some haste. I was on the point of sending you a reply to your telegram No. 4736 dated February 19th.³ I am now sending this reply with this letter.

There is no doubt that certain Provincial Governments notably that of West Bengal, have behaved in a panicky way from time to time. The only justification is that the situation they had to face has really been a bad one. In Calcutta especially there are dozens of small groups of so-called revolutionaries, Trotskyites, the Revolutionary Socialist Party, and the like and they have been giving any amount of trouble. Sarat Bose having lost all the influence he possessed, now seeks to regain part of it by encouraging and inciting these people. It may be said that tactfully handled, a situation is not allowed to develop dangerously. There has been an absence of tactful handling in the initial stages. But once a situation has become dangerous and a crowd is throwing about bombs and hand grenades, it is a little difficult not to take strong action, including firing.

Sarat Bose is bent on mischief and is now trying to organize the refugees from East Bengal with the deliberate intention to give as much trouble as possible.⁴

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.
2. Arthur Samuel Lall (b. 1911); joined I.C.S. 1934; Consul General, New York, 1951-54; Permanent Representative to U.N., 1954-59; Ambassador to Austria, 1959-63; Indian Representative at Geneva Conference on Laos, 1961-62; author of *Emergence of Modern India* and *How Communist China Negotiates*.
3. Referring to the "disquiet felt in London" over the shootings and imprisonment of workers in various parts of India and the denial of habeas corpus to them, Krishna Menon asked whether the police had been instructed to fire only in cases of inevitable necessity and whether the police was liable under ordinary law for unnecessary use of force.
4. On 5 February 1949, Sarat Bose stated that the Central Government was spending more money on rehabilitation of the Punjab refugees than on those from East Bengal. He held the Congress and Mahasabha leadership responsible for the partition and charged that promises made to Hindus of East Bengal had not been fulfilled.

Owing to the threat of general strikes in Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, Power Works, etc., and the probability of widespread sabotage which is being deliberately organized, a large number of Communists have recently been arrested. The total figure of those arrested up to date all over India is 733. The general strike, etc., has been fixed for March 9th.

The Akalis, as you perhaps know, wanted to give us trouble on a large scale. It was only our early action that checkmated them and the situation is generally under control, though the Akalis have threatened to do something big on March 2nd.⁵

We have been subjected to a great deal of criticism about our refugee work. Much of the criticism is justified. But it may interest you to know what an experienced UNRRA⁶ organizer, who has had much to do with camps of displaced persons in Europe, told us the other day, after an inspection of our refugee camps and rehabilitation schemes. He said that, in his opinion, we have done a very good job of work, of which we can be legitimately proud. He pointed out many defects. Nevertheless, as a whole, he thought our record was excellent. Two or three of our rehabilitation schemes were described by him as the best he had seen anywhere...⁷

Yours,
Jawaharlal

5. Master Tara Singh first agreed to Nehru's request not to hold the conference of Akalis to celebrate martyrdom day in Delhi on 19 February as there was a ban on public meetings in the capital. But later he changed his mind and a crowd of about 10,000 Sikhs gathered at Ramlila grounds. Tara Singh was arrested near Delhi on his way to preside over the conference. The Shiromani Akali Dal Working Committee condemned the provocative action of the Government and decided to observe 2 March as a protest day.
6. 44 nations signed an agreement on 9 November 1943 in Washington to create the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. On 18 November 1948 it was merged into the International Refugee Organisation by another agreement.
7. See Section 6, item 2.

2. The Railway Strike and the Communists¹

Deshbandhu Gupta enquired about the number of Communists arrested in the last three days and about the Government measures to help the railway employees who were opposed to the strike.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, with your permission, I propose to reply to both parts of question in the form of a statement which I think will interest the House.

The total number of persons arrested during the last ten days, in connection with the proposed railway strike, is 1870. This figure is accurate uptil yesterday.

The policy of Government has been not to interfere, in any way, with the functioning of trade unions and other labour organizations. Government are of opinion that the formation and the legitimate functioning of trade unions should be encouraged, so that labour may play its proper part in industry and in the promotion of its own interests. Government have attempted to give the widest latitude to all peaceful propaganda of any policy or doctrine, even though they were opposed to that doctrine. Government have refrained from taking any action against the Communist Party of India as such, in spite of virulent propaganda and incitement to violence which the Communist Party members have indulged in. Where violence has been actually attempted or encouraged, Government have taken action. Such action has been limited to individuals who were connected with this violence or encouragement of violence.

The Communist Party of India has, during the past year, adopted an attitude not only of open hostility to Government but one which can be described as bordering on open revolt. This policy has been given effect to intensively in certain limited areas of India and has resulted in violence including murders, arson, and looting as well as acts of sabotage. The House is well aware of the communist revolts that have taken place in countries bordering on India. It was presumably in furtherance of the same policy that attempts were made in India to incite people to active revolt. Fortunately, these attempts failed because of the strength of popular opinion against them and the action taken by Government. Nevertheless a great deal of misery and damage was caused by them in certain parts of India.

1. New Delhi, 28 February 1949. *Constituent Assembly of India (Legislative) Debates, Official Report*, Vol. II, Part I, 18th February-17th March 1949, pp. 1109-1113. On the railway strike, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 9, p. 310.

The House is fully aware that for the last several months we have been greatly preoccupied with meeting the serious economic situation which had been causing distress to millions of our people. It was implicit in our programme that there should be rapid movement of commodities throughout the country.²

Towards the end of November, the Working Committee of the All India Railwaymen's Federation met in Nagpur and decided on taking a strike ballot among the members affiliated to it. At this time we had additional confirmation of information which had been coming to us from time to time, that certain communist elements working in the railway unions were bent on exploiting the proposed strike for political purposes and, in particular, on using violence and sabotage to gain their ends.

Negotiations then took place between my colleague, the Transport Minister and Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, the President of the All India Railwaymen's Federation, with a view to devising means for averting the strike. It was clear to Government that a strike in the railways would, particularly at the present juncture, be an unmitigated disaster to the country. Apart from the fact that dislocation of transportation would nullify the steps that Government have been taking to meet the serious economic situation facing the country, a famine was developing in Gujarat and Kutch and a strike would be disastrous to millions of human beings and cattle in these areas. These discussions were conducted in a friendly atmosphere and certain arrangements were agreed to. As a result, the Railwaymen's Federation decided not to proceed with the strike.

In spite of this decision of the Railwaymen's Federation, certain communist elements in the Federation proceeded with their programme for a strike. Reports continue to reach Government, through reliable sources, that a widespread programme of sabotage had been planned and that it was decided to enforce the strike by means of violence. Indeed, many such instances of sabotage have already occurred. Recently there were unfortunate clashes between some students and others and the police in Calcutta,³ and during these clashes, hand grenades and bombs were used against the police and public property, such as buses and tramcars, were destroyed. We have evidence that the same agencies which provided these weapons to the students are exploiting them for similar purposes during the railway strike.

The Communist Party of India has recently concentrated on the issue of a general strike on the railways as well as in other essential services of paramount importance to the community. It has looked upon these strikes not from the trade union or economic point of view, meant to better the lot of the workers, but as a weapon

2. A severe drought in Gujarat, Kutch and Madras necessitated speedy movement of foodgrains.

3. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 9, p. 411.

designed to create a chaotic state in the country which, it is thought, would help the Party to gain its other objectives, whatever they might be. It is deliberately seeking to create famine conditions by paralyzing the railway system, so that foodstuffs should not be transported, the object being to create a general background of chaos, a breakdown of the administration and mass uprisings. A large number of prominent Communist Party members have gone underground and Government have a mass of evidence in their possession to indicate that organized attempts are being made to conduct campaigns of sabotage, more especially on the railway system. The permanent way was to be damaged, locomotives interfered with, and general sabotage of vital installations, telephones, telegraphs and power stations was aimed at. Honourable Members will remember the destruction of the Calcutta Telephone Exchange some time ago.

Fortunately, the great majority of railwaymen and other workers have declared themselves opposed to the general strike and to such methods. The Communist Party of India, however, appears to be bent on flouting the opinion of this majority of workers and has pursued a technique of terrorizing those who do not agree with its policy. While interfering with the freedom of action of others, it demands full freedom for itself to carry on its own anti-social and disruptive activities. If any action is taken by Government to check these activities, protests are raised on the ground of civil liberties being interfered with. As a part of this technique, organizations for the ostensible object of protecting civil liberties are started, their real object being to encourage these anti-social activities. Government are anxious that the civil liberties of the people should be fully maintained. But it is not Government's conception of civil liberty to permit methods of coercion and terrorism to be practised against the general community. It is the paramount duty of Government to give security to the people and to prevent the normal life of the community from being interfered with by such methods of violence. No Government and no social life would be possible, if these methods were tolerated. Hence Government have been compelled to take all necessary measures to meet this situation. If any strike takes place on the railways by a fraction of the railwaymen or elsewhere, they are determined to deal with it firmly. Such a strike at this juncture, it must always be remembered, has nothing to do with economic questions or the normal activities of trade unions and the like. Government have already shown their earnest desire to meet all legitimate demands of their employees and other workers. They will always be prepared to consider any difficulties that their employees have to face and to remove them as far as possible. They are determined to maintain the well established rights of labour. But they cannot submit to threats of violence and incitement to active revolt from any quarter.

In furtherance of this policy, Government have arrested a number of members of the Communist Party of India and have taken such other precautionary measures as they deem necessary. They have advised Provincial Governments to do likewise so as to ensure that vital installations are protected against sabotage. They have

no doubt that in doing so they have the full support of the country and of this House, which is wedded to democratic procedure and is entirely opposed to methods of violence.

The nature of the activities and objectives of certain groups in the country can be judged by the events which took place at Dum Dum and other places in Calcutta two days ago.⁴ A meeting was held on the *maidan* under the auspices of the Bengal Provincial Trade Union Congress, which is a body dominated by the Communist Party of India. Speakers urged the seizure of power by violent means. A student of the Bengal Provincial Students Federation, which is also dominated by the Communist Party of India, stated that a saboteur gang of students was ready for action. Three groups had gone out previously on taxies, motorcars and buses and did considerable damage. Fourteen of these terrorists were captured on Saturday night and a quantity of hand grenades, sten guns and bombs were recovered from them. The arrested men belong to what is known as the Revolutionary Communist Party of India which broke away from the Communist Party of India but collaborates with it on occasions. This group of R.C.P.I. men was responsible for the incident at the water works at Talla a few months ago, when an attempt was made to blow up the water works machinery.⁵

This recent incident in Calcutta gives some indication of the kind of action that is intended by those people who are working for general strikes. I have just heard of these cases of attempts to derail trains during the last two days. It is against this kind of action that every precaution has to be taken. Government are satisfied that the vast number of railway employees, and other workers in the country do not want such general strike and are opposed to such methods. It is Government's duty not only to protect the general community but also these large numbers of workers. In any action that Government may take, they will always remember that the working classes are the backbone of the country and that their general interests must not suffer. May I add an expression of the Government's regret at the killing by these terrorists of a number of persons in Calcutta during the last two or three days. These include a number of police officers and men and officers of Messrs Jessop Limited and of the B.O.A.C.

4. On 26 February 1949, armed bands carried out simultaneous raids at Dum Dum airfield and the adjoining workshop of Jessop and Company, manufacturer of wagons and other steel equipment, and a Government ammunition factory, killing and injuring a number of officers and workers on duty.
5. In October 1948, there was an attempt to sabotage the Talla water work plant to disrupt the water supply to the four million inhabitants of the city.

Deshbandhu Gupta asked whether the Government had considered the advisability of declaring the Communist Party an unlawful association.

JN: The Government are always reluctant to declare any organization as such unlawful. Government will even allow, as the House knows, the continued publication of periodicals which, whether they are otherwise, are often indulging in the most virulent propaganda. No doubt what the honourable Member has suggested is being and will be considered, but Government always prefers not to deal with an organization as such but rather with the individuals who are in it.

Deshbandhu Gupta enquired how many Congressmen had been killed by Communists in Hyderabad and round about areas.

JN: When the Honourable Member mentions Congressmen in Hyderabad presumably he means members of the State Congress of Hyderabad. I am unable to supply any exact numbers, but from the general information we have received, over two hundred members of the State Congress have been individually murdered in certain areas of Hyderabad.

Deshbandhu Gupta asked whether the Newspaper Advisory Committee for Bombay Province had advised action against *People's Age* and what action the Government had taken.

JN: Yes, I believe that the Press Advisory Committee of the Bombay Province has advised the Provincial Government to take action against the *People's Age*.⁶

H.V. Kamath asked whether Indian Communists were also trying to foment trouble in Burma.

JN: There may be individuals acting in this way and probably there are.

Shri Arun Chandra Guha enquired if the Communist Party was banned in any province in India.

JN: Yes, in West Bengal.⁷

6. *People's Age*, the chief organ of the Communist Party of India, was placed under restriction by the Bombay Government and the editor and some of the staff were arrested. The journal continued to appear but was banned in several States.

7. On 25 March 1948, the Communist Party was declared illegal in West Bengal.

B. Pocker asked about the number of Communists in India and where they were in greatest number and the number that had gone underground.

JN: I am afraid I could not give any exact numbers in regard to the number of Communist Party members or their sympathizers, or those who have gone underground. Probably the numbers actually involved are not very big.

Mihir Lal Chattopadhyay asked whether the leader of the revolutionary Communist Party of India was arrested by Government under the Public Safety Act and then released six months back.

JN: I do not quite know except that the Revolutionary Communist Party of India, which was a faction which separated from the Communist Party, itself split up into two. I do not know who is the leader of which group and what happened to him.

Lakshmi Kanta Maitra enquired whether the Government was watchful of the Communists who were trying to come into India as refugees from Malaya and Burma and were trying to establish links with Indian Communists.

JN: I am not aware of any serious danger of that type. Naturally the Government tries to keep wide awake to all such possibilities. But so far there has been no cause for alarm for this particular type of danger. I am not aware of any particular case of that type. It is a possibility of course.

V.C. Kesava Rao asked about the Government action to eliminate those Communists from Railway Federation who were not railway employees.

JN: I do not understand this question. There may be a policy of encouraging or rather discouraging non-workers from being office-bearers of the Union. There may be possibly that policy. But it is undesirable to apply political labels to individuals of that type.

Raj Bahadur enquired if the Government had ascertained the source or agency through which the Communists were obtaining their arms and ammunition.

JN: There must be some information in possession of Government. Since the last war, there have been many ways of getting arms and ammunition, more especially in certain frontier areas—Assam, Bengal, etc., and I have no doubt that many of these Communists have been able to get these arms from those particular sources.

3. To B.C. Roy¹

New Delhi
March 3, 1949

My dear Bidhan,

I have your letter of the 28th February² together with a copy of a letter from Mr. Warren³ of Jessop and Company Ltd.

I can quite understand the feeling of people in Jessops and I entirely agree that we should give them full protection.

So far as I know, there is no bar to an employer dismissing any of his employees. Of course if this dismissal is without adequate cause, or if it gives rise to further trouble, then somebody has to step in to prevent the spread of this trouble. Government can certainly refer the matter under the Industrial Disputes Act, if there is an apprehension of a dispute. But this discretion has to be exercised reasonably by the Government and not in a vexatious manner. Often enough, it may be advantageous even from the employer's point of view to refer a matter at that stage. Thus the real discretion rests with the local Government.

In the present case, that is, Jessops, I think they have every right to keep out people against whom they have some evidence of disloyalty or sabotage and there is no reason why your Government should insist on their being reinstated or on that particular matter being referred to a tribunal. Jessops have had to suffer in a horrible way and it is up to us to make some amends. The Central Government will support you in this matter.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. Ministry of Home Affairs File No. 12/5/49-Poll.
2. Referring to the question of retrenchment of a large number of workers by the employers following the violence on 26 February in Jessop and Company Ltd., Dum Dum, B.C. Roy wrote whether his Government could ask the company to refer the matter to him under the Industrial Disputes Act.
3. Chairman of Jessop and Company Ltd.

4. On the Essential Services Bill¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, my colleague the Home Minister was to have moved for the House to take into consideration a Bill to provide for the prevention of strikes in certain essential services. He has asked me to express his regret for his absence on this occasion because he had to go out of Delhi on an important engagement. He has asked me further to read out to the House a certain statement which he would have read himself if he had been present. This is the statement.²

May I, Sir, add a few words of my own. This statement which I have read out on behalf of the Home Minister, I need hardly add, is a statement with the full concurrence of Government. There have been a number of criticisms in regard to the proposed Bill that it proceeds on certain wrong assumptions and it has been stated by some people that the Government was trying to aim a blow at the trade union organizations or their general right to strike. Government have no such intention. That we have repeatedly declared. Fortunately in the present instance, there is no organized or what might be called regular strike envisaged. And the situation has changed for the better, and to some extent in another direction, for the worse. We have to deal with a situation now which is not a strike situation at all but something entirely different. I do not know exactly how it might develop. But from statements made—sometimes publicly and sometimes otherwise—and we have a considerable record of these statements—it seems clear, as I indicated the other day, that certain groups are bent, not so much on a strike, but on creating disorder and chaos and indulging in acts of sabotage. The other day I reminded the House of the incidents that happened in Calcutta. These incidents were bad in themselves. They were brutal in the extreme. But what was even worse I think, was not the unfortunate fact of some persons being killed—that is bad enough—but the fact that some people of our country should be brutal and mad enough to think of such acts and indulge in them. Unfortunately, that kind of atmosphere

1. Speech in the Constituent Assembly, 5 March 1949, *Constituent Assembly of India (Legislative) Debates, Official Report*, Vol. II, Part II, 1949, 24th Feb-18th March 1949, pp. 1164-1167.
2. The Home Minister sought withdrawal of the Essential Services (Prevention of Strikes) Bill because the threat of strikes had now become confined only to some Communist dominated railway unions. But as the general attempts at creating disorder and violence in Calcutta and elsewhere pointed to a grave law and order situation the Home Minister proposed to approach the House again for necessary directions and powers.

has been deliberately encouraged by some groups of people in the country. I am quite sure that the vast majority of people and workers are not affected by it and strongly disapprove of it. I should like, therefore, to make it perfectly clear that we do distinguish definitely between these groups who are bent on these anti-social activities and the large majority of workers and employees—employees of government or other employees in the country. We have to meet, therefore, this position created by certain anti-social elements in the country. That is not a labour situation. That is not a strike situation. That is an entirely different situation. Unfortunately, even a small number of misguided or malevolently inclined individuals can cause trouble. Therefore one has to take care and we propose to take every precaution and proper care. But in doing so, I should like not only this House, but the country at large to realize the nature of the problem that we have to face. That is a problem again, not of labour as a whole, or of strikes—those are separate things which can be dealt with in their proper context—but the problem of certain groups who are out, not for the economic benefits of labour, not for the normal labour or trade union activities, but to create certain chaotic conditions out of which perhaps they would...

Maulana Hasrat Mohani interrupted to ask what use was there of such an *ex-parte* judgement.

JN: It is not quite clear what the honourable Member meant by *ex-parte* judgment. *Ex-parte* to whom or what? I should like to make it clear that, whether it is *ex-parte* or not, it is the judgment of the Prime Minister and the Government of this country, and so long as this Government lasts it is going to act according to that judgment. I do not know if the honourable Member belongs to that other party which apparently he thinks is not represented here, except by himself. I think that matter must be made clear. If any member tells you that this is an *ex-parte* judgment, what exactly does he mean? When I am talking of certain anti-social elements in this country, elements which have committed murder, dacoity, arson, loot, and the most horrible crimes, elements which the other day in Calcutta threw two persons into a blazing furnace—I think it is horrible.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani said that the Communist Party had denied responsibility for it.

JN: I do not know if the Honourable Member here represents the Communist Party or not. That I would like to know from him.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani said that he appreciated the communist principles, but did not belong to that party.

JN: May I make it perfectly clear that I am not discussing any economic or political or other principles here at the present moment. So far as this Government

is concerned, we have tried to give the largest latitude to expression of views, even though those views may, according to some of us, be wrong views. But we are dealing with a situation, not of expression of any views, but with a situation when violent acts, dangerous acts, subversive acts, are committed. These have nothing to do with views as such. I want the House and the country to realize that, because if this Government or any government accepts under the guise of expression of views, violent activities, then that government or the structure behind that government cannot last. That is obvious. Are we committed to peaceful activities in this country or to violently subversive activities? That is the point at issue. I submit that no government can admit violent activities, violently—subversive activities—and when I use the words together I do not mean even theoretically subversive activities, but violently subversive activities. No government can possibly tolerate them. Apart from that, I suggest to the House to consider that the type of activities that we have had to face, that is even worse than what might be called violently subversive activities—an open rebellion of people with arms or otherwise, becoming violent facing an army or things of that kind. Such a thing the Government can meet. But infinitely worse is the person who comes and stabs you in the back. Think of persons being hurled into a blazing furnace.³ I can imagine nothing more despicable than that.

And the House will remember that I did not use the word “Communist” or “Communism”. It is the honourable Member⁴ who used the word. I state that whoever indulges in such activities will have to be suppressed and stopped by Government, whoever he may be. There are in the country people, a number of small groups, small in numbers, some associated with the Communist Party and some not associated with the Communist Party—it is immaterial what political creed they profess. But if as part of their creed, as part of their activities they indulge in this type of violently subversive activities, then we have to deal with that situation, and I should like to appeal to labour in this country. There may possibly be differences of opinion in regard to labour matters between members in this House or between the Government and the representatives of labour occasionally. But one thing I shall beg this House and labour generally, to realize and that is this: this Government as a whole is bent on not only improving the general condition of labour—that is rather a weak way of putting it—but of giving its rightful place to labour in the governance of the country. Even if there are differences of opinion with regard to that, I do submit that there should be no difference of opinion even between persons who have different approaches to these other matters, there should be no difference of opinion when we have to deal with a kind of situation that, to some extent, is facing us today.

3. See *ante*, item 2, fn. 4.

4. H.V. Kamath.

I do not wish the House or the country to imagine that we are frightened of the situation. We shall deal with it adequately, we are quite confident. But it is not the extent or the danger of the situation that rather distresses me, but the nature of the situation, that there should be some persons in our country who are so entirely misdirected or wrongly inclined as to think in such terms. The types of slogans that are used, they are murderous slogans; and the types of activities that are seen in various parts. Who are behind them, what group or party, or what individual? That is another matter which we shall consider at length and have enquiries made. The fact is that there are groups of individuals who do these things and that they deliberately indulge in acts of sabotage which are not only dangerous for the community but may result in grave disorder in a large number of the provinces. Quite apart from the economic aspect that is a point on which there should be no two opinions—whether labour, or those who are occupied in other activities in the country. It is because we did not wish the issue to be confused that the Government decided not to proceed with this Bill, which really had been thought of in different circumstances. Therefore, on behalf of the Home Minister, I beg leave of the House not to proceed further with this Bill.

5. Shun a Narrow Outlook¹

The people of India should realize their responsibilities in the new set up of independent India and never indulge in narrow outlook. The R.S.S., particularly took up from narrow communalism its slogans and principles which always had been responsible for the downfall of India. The people and particularly youth should never be carried away by slogans.

A lot of controversy arose with regard to the integration of certain States and the estrangement of feelings between Bihar and her sister province. It is an absolutely useless controversy in as much as it matters very little whether a particular part of a province remains in one province or goes to another. After all, these provinces are nothing but administrative units all under the Indian Union. I come from U.P. and I shall not be the least sorry if two or three districts of U.P. are ceded to any other province, provided they all acquire a sense of Indian unity.

1. Address to Bihar Political Conference, Muzaffarpur, 2 April 1949. Based on reports from *Hindusthan Standard*, 4 April and *The Hindustan Times*, 3 and 4 April 1949.

So far as the principle of communism is concerned I like these principles to a great extent. But the Indian Communist Party has no relation with communism and they do not care for the fundamentals of the communist philosophy. This Party in fact is acting against communism and prefers to confine its activities to terroristic methods. The aim of this Party is to see that India never becomes great or strong. This might be due more or less to outside influence.

What they have done in Hyderabad and other places showed that they have no moral scruples so far as the means are concerned for achieving their ends. Even during the railway strike they were so much bent upon creating trouble that when the Railwaymen's Federation decided not to go on strike they conspired to tamper with the railway lines so that movement of foodgrains would be affected in such a way that the situation they expected would lead to food shortage and disaffection against the Government, by which they would gain ground for their own party. They are preaching a dangerous cult, the manifestation of which could be seen in the Dum Dum raids in which men were roasted alive in the furnace of the factory. Where is all this leading to?

Their one aim is to weaken the State and not to serve the interests of the masses. If they have the interests of the people and the country at heart, they would not have pursued such a destructive policy. They are conscious of their limitations and their strength and know that they will not be able to replace the Government. That is why they are not interested in the country's progress and want to create chaos and confusion.

So far as I am concerned, I believe that India will have to become ultimately a socialist State. It is only a question of time and the methods through which the end is to be attained. The need of the hour is to strengthen the State and better the lot of the people so as to increase the wealth of the country. Wealth does not mean gold or silver.

If there is no wealth what will people share? In countries like America, even ordinary workers earn such a decent amount as to be regarded here as a fairly well-off, simply because they produce more. Those who are hampering production are not only harming the cause of labourers but are also weakening the country and retarding its progress.

Basawan Singh, a prominent Socialist leader of Bihar is fasting at Dalmianagar in protest against the retrenchment of a large number of workers following the recent long-drawn strike.² Although I am not fully posted with the facts of the case, I cannot approve of such a fast. I have been told that one of the plants at Dalmianagar (cardboard plant of Rohtas Industries) had been set on fire.³ I was

2. See sub-section III, item 3, fn. 2.

3. A fire broke out in the paper mill of the Rohtas Industries at Dalmianagar on 28 January 1949.

pained when I heard of it. Those who had set fire to the plant have not harmed the proprietor though that might have been the motive, but the country's production had been affected.

The grievances of labour, if any, should be settled by arbitration and not through fasts. What would happen if a thousand labourers started fasting to enforce the demands of labour in different parts of the country? Those who are resorting to such fasts are not doing good to the country. I am sorry to know that a man of Mr. Basawan Singh's standing is fasting for the last three and a half weeks. I hope he will give up his fast.

The virus of communalism has been checked, but it has not died. It still smoulders and even some Congressmen are not free from it. The Rashtriya Swayam Sangh is preaching the cult of revivalism of Hindu culture and civilization in a way that will bring the downfall of the country if our countrymen take to their way of thinking. As a student of history, I would say that whenever India attempted to shut itself off from new ideas and developed a narrow outlook, it had lost its prestige and dignity. If India is to progress it cannot allow communalism and provincialism to grow. I shall not allow it. The youth of the country should not be lured away by the slogans of R.S.S. and Communists. Those who are at the helm of affairs now are old and they will not continue for ever. The younger generation will have to shoulder the responsibilities of administration of the country sooner or later and it is for them to make or mar the future of the country. They should, therefore, realize their responsibilities and behave as responsible citizens of a free democratic country.

In spite of the difficulties that beset the country in the shape of communal troubles, the division of the country, Kashmir and Hyderabad troubles, considerable progress has been made with the solution of these problems of the country. I have every hope that the country will make rapid strides and march ahead, but no democratic country can progress without the fullest cooperation of the masses. People must cooperate with the Government in fullest measure for their own benefit and for the benefit of the country. I wish to move about among the people in every part of the country, but since I have become the Prime Minister, I have become a virtual prisoner in Delhi.

I can see considerable lack of discipline in this gathering and there was a stampede in the women's enclosure. No country will progress if its people lack this quality of discipline. I want that they should develop this quality to such an extent that even an earthquake shall not be able to make them lose their balance.

The citizens of India whether they are men or women have to be strong. Unless women marched shoulder to shoulder with their menfolk the country cannot progress. I want the women of Bihar to march ahead and not remain satisfied with their position as helpless human beings.

The attainments of the wives of candidates for foreign service, are also to be taken into consideration at the time of selection. It is necessary that their wives should have such attainments that they can mix freely with the women of the countries where they are sent.

I do not know what may be the outcome of the London Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers, which I will attend later this month. But it is definite that we shall stand by the Objectives of the Resolution passed by the Constituent Assembly. We are not going to compromise our independent status with anything else in any shape or form.

6. To B.C. Roy¹

New Delhi
April 17, 1949

My dear Bidhan,

You will remember that I wrote to you² and enquired as to why the Dum Dum and Jessop's factory incident as well as others had happened without our intelligence knowing anything about it. You sent me an answer. Our own intelligence reports say that some information about these coming incidents was given by your intelligence people, but that no attention was paid to it by their chiefs.

One other factor stands out. When Dum Dum and other places were attacked, there was hardly any effective firing by the police force. This indicates that the morale of the policemen present there was rather low.

We have received reports from our intelligence people about the state of affairs in West Bengal. They indicate that there was not much alertness or efficiency at the top....If this is true, then it is not a good state of affairs and, therefore, I am drawing your attention to it.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.
2. See *ante*, item 3.

POLITICAL PARTIES

III. The Socialists

1. To Jagjivan Ram¹

New Delhi
February 20, 1949

My dear Jagjivan Ram,

I had a visit today from Jogesh Chatterjee² and another person in connection with the hunger strike going on in the U.P.³ They told me that they had been to see you and you had said something to the effect that you disagreed with something that the U.P. Government had done and had referred them to me.

I do not know what I can do in the matter and normally I do not interfere with the Provincial Government. I have the strongest objection to hunger strikes in such matters. However, if you can suggest something that I can do, I shall consider it. If the U.P. Government is in error in a major matter, I shall certainly point it out to them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 26(61)/48-PMS.
2. (1895-1969); a noted revolutionary of Banaras, U.P. and member of Anushilan Party, Bengal; spent 24 years in various jails; Member of Rajya Sabha, 1956-61; at this time he was a member of the Revolutionary Socialist Party.
3. Shibban Lal Saxena, Member of the Constituent Assembly and convenor of Joint Committee of the united U.P. and Bihar Sugar Workers Federation and two others were on hunger-strike from 12 February 1949 as a protest against a "Government order declaring general strike in sugar factories on February 12, illegal."

2. Arrest of Socialists¹

Presumably the attached telegram² was meant for the Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, and not for Shri Gopalaswami Ayyangar.

1. Note to the Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, 25 February 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. B.C. Roy, in a telegram on 24 February, wrote that the lists supplied by the General Manager to round up Communists in the railways were not correctly drawn up. This led to the arrest of several Socialists who should not have been arrested.

2. This indicates that lists supplied were not very carefully drawn up. In matters of this kind the fullest care should be taken. If wrong people had been arrested, more specially Socialists, I think instructions should be sent for their release. We must concentrate on the immediate opponents and not confuse the issue by dragging in others and thus adding to our difficulties.³ I entirely agree with what Dr. Roy says that arrests should be confined to persons against whom there is definite information. I hope the Home Ministry will take the necessary action.

3. It was alleged that Ranalkar Joglekar and 36 other railway employees of Baroda were wrongly arrested, while Brij Nath Singh after being acquitted by a High Court was re-arrested under the local Public Safety Act.

3. To Sri Krishna Sinha¹

New Delhi
March 31, 1949

My dear Sri Babu,

Your letter of the 29th March. I sent you a telegram today about Basawan Singh's hunger-strike.² I entirely agree with you that it is quite absurd to decide industrial questions under the threat of a hunger-strike. If we did so, then we shall always have to face hunger-strikes. I cannot give you any specific advice in this matter, except to say that your Government should try to do its utmost to put an end to this hunger-strike, without giving up any vital principle. The burning of a part of Dalmia's factory was a very bad thing. I do not know if you are proceeding against particular persons in a court of law over this matter.

On the other hand Dalmias have got a very bad name and large-scale dismissals generally hide the real culprits and create a feeling of discontent. It should be our policy of course to encourage legitimately the I.N.T.U.C. Unions. In view, however, of the Communist position, it is desirable not to add to our difficulties by coming to ceaseless conflict with the Socialists. There has been recently some move on the part of the Socialists to tone down their opposition to Government. We might take advantage of this wherever possible.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Basawan Singh began a hunger-strike unto death on 16 March 1949 for the reinstatement of 2500 workers who had been retrenched by Rohtas Industries following a prolonged strike. He broke his fast on 6 April following reassurances given by Jayaprakash Narayan regarding the future of the workers.

The communist position is likely to cause trouble for a considerable time. Developing position in Eastern Asia encourages the morale of the Communists in India. Our general policy should be to try to isolate these Communists who tend to become terrorists now and to get as much cooperation as possible from other elements.

I cannot tell you the time for the next general election. I imagine that it cannot be earlier than the end of 1950 or the beginning of 1951. We should aim at that.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4

KASHMIR

I. Internal Affairs

1. To S.M. Abdullah¹

New Delhi
February 16, 1949

My dear Sheikh Saheb,

I have just received your letter of the 16th² about the visit of two members of the Constituent Assembly to Jammu. I knew nothing about this visit and only read about it in newspapers today. I entirely agree with you that if anybody wants to go there, previous intimation should be sent to you.

I have also received your letter of the 15th February together with a long note on the truce agreement and the plebiscite proposals.³ I have not read your note yet, but we shall certainly consider it fully. But a note is not enough. Important talks are going on now and your presence would have been very desirable. Indeed I have been expecting you or Bakshi for the last two days. As you well know, all kinds of difficulties are likely to arise, indeed are arising, and your advice is necessary at each stage. There are other matters too which should be discussed. I hope either you or Bakshi or preferably both of you are coming here very soon.

Lady Mountbatten and her daughter arrived here yesterday. They are very keen on paying a visit to Kashmir, however brief. But their time is very limited.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Criticizing the deliberate and unauthorized visit of Raghu Vira and Mihir Lal Chattopadhyay, members of the Constituent Assembly along with Kaviraj Vishnu Gupta, against whom a warrant of arrest was pending, Sheikh Abdullah wrote that they not only met the leaders of communal Hindu organizations but also wanted to organize a public meeting on 13 March, which in his opinion would fan the communal group's demand for a zonal plebiscite. He wanted prior intimation for all such visits so that he could acquaint the members with all shades of opinion.
3. About the truce agreement Sheikh Abdullah regretted that the variations and amendments suggested by the Kashmir Government had not been included in the final draft inspite of certain matters having been conceded by both Lozano and Colban. On the plebiscite proposals he wanted that the Plebiscite Administrator, who would be appointed after the implementation of parts 1 and 11 of the August 13 Resolution, should derive necessary powers only from the Kashmir Government.

2. To Raghu Vira¹

New Delhi

February 24, 1949

Dear Dr. Raghu Vira,

I have your letter of the 21st February about your visit to Jammu.

It is a little difficult for me to discuss in a letter the difficult and complicated question like that of Jammu and Kashmir State. The future of that State inevitably depends on the wishes of the majority of the population there and that majority means the Muslim majority. Any activities, therefore, which ignore this fact are not only prejudicial for the State but more so for the minority. I am afraid many of the Hindus in Jammu have from this point of view lost touch with reality. The Government of India is anxious to protect the interests of both the majority and the minority and we are quite sure that Sheikh Abdullah and his Government are equally anxious to do that. Indeed he has taken very strong steps against many Muslims in Kashmir who were suspected of misbehaving. Jammu has a bad record in the past for communal organizations among the Hindus, who have acted very unwisely.

You are no doubt aware of the fact that the U.N. Commission on Kashmir is at present in Delhi and is likely to go to Kashmir soon. We have to be very careful of what is said and done, lest these may injure our cause and give material for Pakistan to carry on its propaganda against us. There is no question of any commission being appointed as you suggest. But we are in constant touch with developments there and seek to remedy any defects that may arise. Some of the people who are complaining, are people who have been involved in the past in very reprehensible activities which have injured the cause of India in Kashmir and Jammu. Kaviraj Vishnu Gupta whom I do not personally know, had a warrant out against him before he went to Kashmir.² It was unwise to take a person there against whom there was a warrant of arrest. Whether the issue of that warrant is justified or not is something that I cannot judge because I have not got the facts. But to ignore that warrant was not a judicious thing to do.

This matter was considered by the Executive of the Congress Party this morning and I explained the situation fully to them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Kaviraj Vishnu Gupta, President, Jammu and Kashmir Pursharthi Sabha, had a warrant of arrest issued against him in mid-1948 for communal activities. The warrant remained unexecuted as he stayed out of Kashmir.

3. The Sindh Valley Project¹

The Prime Minister of Kashmir State has written to me about a project for erecting hydro-electric power works in the Sindh Valley.² I have forwarded all these papers to the ministries concerned. I should like to say that this question is rather a vital one for the State. The old power works at Mahora are practically in a state of collapse. They are over 40 years old and the raiders damaged them considerably. They are so old that for many years no electric connections have been given in the valley and the existing connections also give unsatisfactory service. There is a fear of complete collapse any day. Such a collapse would have very bad consequences from many points of view.

The Sindh Valley Project, therefore, assumes great importance. It is an independent project and relatively cheap, for the total outlay is about one and a half crores. It will produce five times the power that is now available from Mahora. I understand that orders have been provisionally placed for machinery in England, though that machinery will probably not come for some time, a year or more. But much preliminary work can be done before that. The total sum required, that is, a crore and a half, is going to be spread out over about five or six years. The immediate requirements during the current calendar year would be about 15 lakhs.

I have no doubt at all about the importance of this project from every point of view, including the political. What we can do about it, I cannot immediately say as this depends on Finance and their capacity and willingness to advance a loan. I should like this matter to be investigated by the States Ministry and Finance. I understand that our Electrical Engineer has inspected this scheme and approved of it. He might be referred to.

1. Note to Secretary-General, M.E.A., 24 February 1949. J.N. Collection.

2. The Sindh Hydro Electric and Irrigation Project was planned to harness the potentiality of river Sindh. The project with an expected cost of Rs. 1.6 crores, was supposed to be completed by 1955, when it would generate 12000 kilowatts of electricity and irrigate 1,500 acres of land.

4. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
March 23, 1949

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter of the 23 March about Sheikh Abdullah's speeches.² I entirely agree with you. I showed your letter to Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, the Deputy Prime Minister of Kashmir, who has just come here. I think he agrees also. I have spoken to Sheikh Abdullah on this subject on several occasions, but like some public speakers, he cannot easily control himself when he warms up to a subject. However, I shall continue my efforts. It is also necessary for us to decide definitely about the Maharaja.³

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Criticizing Sheikh Abdullah for a public speech in "belligerent style" against the Maharaja who was still the Head of the State, Rajagopalachari requested Nehru to restrain him tactfully "to observe the courtesies due to whoever the Head of the State."
3. It was agreed by both the Government of India and Sheikh Abdullah that the Maharaja had to abdicate and leave the State as soon as possible.

5. To N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar¹

New Delhi
April 16, 1949

My dear Gopalaswami,

I enclose a copy of a report² of a Central Intelligence Officer about his visit to Kashmir. I should like to draw your particular attention to what he says about the Maharaja's activities. He says that the Maharaja is backing and giving full financial help to the Praja Parishad, which is carrying on its propaganda on a purely communal basis against Sheikh Abdullah's Government. Also that the Dharmarth Trust Fund³

1. J.N. Collection.
2. The report dealt with aspects of Sheikh Abdullah's administration which had adversely affected many interests, leading to wide scale discontent and restiveness in the whole of Jammu and Kashmir. It also discussed the difficulties in solving the problems of the Maharaja and Sheikh Abdullah.
3. A fund raised and kept aside by the Maharaja for charitable purposes.

is being used for propaganda in favour of the Maharaja. The poor Yuvaraja⁴ appears to be dragged into the picture also which is unfortunate for him.

The Hindu attitude appears to be, and there is a good deal of truth, that they would demand a plebiscite on a zonal basis in order to save the Jammu area. This is a very dangerous move.

I feel that the question of the Maharaja must be tackled very soon. We decided the other day to tackle it by asking him to go away from Kashmir. This at least should be done as soon as possible. His presence there is a continuous source of trouble and our difficulties in Kashmir will increase, if he remains there.

I had a long talk of over two hours with Sheikh Abdullah and Beg tonight. I spoke to them frankly about everything, including the Maharaja. He gave his usual replies, but at any rate promised to say nothing about the Maharaja in future. Kachru⁵ was present at the interview and he could tell you more about it.

Could you please return the intelligence report directly to H.V.R. Iengar.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Karan Singh (b. 1931); Regent of Jammu and Kashmir, 1949-52; Sadar-i-Riyasat, 1952-65; Governor of Kashmir, 1965-67; M.P. and Minister for Tourism and Civil Aviation, 1967-73 and Health, 1973-77; Minister for Education, 1979; Ambassador to the U.S.A., 1989; Vice-Chairman, Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund from 1990.
5. Dwarkanath Kachru, Nehru's representative to Sheikh Abdullah.

6. Permits for Kashmir¹

Attempts are being made to encourage tourists to go to Kashmir during the summer season. Their presence would be profitable to Kashmir from many points of view. Apart from the economic advantage derived from it, even politically this is likely to be advantageous, as it brings a sense of normality.

But the present system of issuing permits is rather complicated and does not encourage anyone to go there, more especially people who live in parts of India

1. Note to Kashmir Secretariat, 16 April 1949. J.N. Collection.

other than Delhi.² If we are to encourage tourist traffic, we should make the granting of permits a little easier. For instance, some appropriate official, like the Chief Secretaries of Provincial Governments, might be authorized to issue permits. People coming from Bombay could get their permits from the Chief Secretary there and so also in other provinces. As a matter of fact proper checking can take place best in the provinces. If there is any doubt they can refer the matter to headquarters in Delhi. If every person has to apply to Delhi for permits, that is an effective bar.

I suggest that some such method, as indicated above, might be tried and that in other words, we should encourage tourist traffic.

2. In 1949, the procedure to secure permits for entering the State was simplified and the number of authorities competent to issue permits was increased. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 9, p. 193.

7. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
17 April 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Two days ago, H.V.R. Iengar (Home Secretary) sent me a copy of a report of one of our intelligence officers who had been sent to Kashmir. This report was a very interesting and revealing document. There was nothing very new in it, in the sense that we did not know, but still it brought out certain important points. I sent this report to Gopalaswami Ayyangar, who will return it to H.V.R. Iengar.

In this report, among other things, a reference was made to a growing Hindu agitation in Jammu province, for what is called a zonal plebiscite.² This idea is based on the belief that a plebiscite for the whole of Kashmir is bound to be lost and therefore let us save Jammu at least. You will perhaps remember that some proposal of this kind was put forward by the Maharaja some months back. It seems to me that this kind of propaganda is very harmful indeed for us. Whatever may happen in the future, I do not think Jammu province is running away from us. If we want Jammu province by itself and are prepared to make a present of the rest of the State to Pakistan, I have no doubt we could clinch the issue in a few days. The prize we are fighting for is the valley of Kashmir.

1. J.N. Collection, N.M.M.L.
2. The communal upheaval of 1947 and the subsequent disorder culminating in the tribal raid and constant power struggle between the Maharaja and Sheikh Abdullah turned some Hindus in Jammu into ardent protagonists of the partition of Kashmir on the basis of a zonal plebiscite and integration of Jammu with India.

This propaganda for a zonal plebiscite is going on in Jammu, in Delhi and elsewhere. It is carried on by what is known as the Jammu Praja Parishad.³ Our intelligence officer reported that this Praja Parishad is financed by the Maharaja. Further, that the large sums collected for the Dharmarth Fund, which are controlled by the Maharaja, are being spent in propaganda for him. All this is resulting in producing a most peculiar and unfortunate situation.

We know that Sheikh Abdullah and some of his colleagues have been very unwise in their public remarks and they have improperly criticized the Maharaja and asked for his removal.⁴ I had a long talk with Abdullah last night and again pointed out to him very forcefully how unfortunate and wrong his attitude was in this particular matter and how it was creating difficulties not only for us but for himself. He repeated his old complaints, which included the very facts that our intelligence officer has stated. He promised that he would say nothing about the Maharaja in future, but he was very unhappy about it.

This morning Cariappa came to see me. He has recently been to Jammu and Kashmir and he gave me his report. He said that this tussle between the Maharaja and Sheikh Abdullah was having a very bad effect not only in the State but in the Army. He said that the Maharaja's brother-in-law⁵ was openly carrying on a campaign against Sheikh Abdullah and his Government and issuing pamphlets of this kind. It was not for him to judge, he added, who was to blame in this matter, but the consequences were bad.

The consequences are undoubtedly bad and I feel that it is no longer safe for us to allow matters to drift. You will remember that we discussed this matter fully some time ago in your house. Gopalaswami Ayyangar and others were present. Ultimately we came to the conclusion that the proper course to adopt was for us to take the attitude that it was for the people of Kashmir in the Constituent Assembly to decide about the future of the Maharaja. But even now it is highly desirable

3. The Jammu Praja Parishad, claiming to represent the Jammu Hindus, was formed in November 1947 with Hari Wazir as its first President, who was later succeeded by Prem Nath Dogra. The main object of the Jammu Praja Parishad was to safeguard the "legitimate and democratic" rights of the people of Jammu and to achieve full integration of Jammu and Kashmir to India.
4. On 30 September 1948, Sheikh Abdullah declared that the "struggle with the Maharaja was still going on because the latter was anxious to rule and was not prepared to reign." On 1 March 1949, he said at a public meeting at Baramula, "The primary issue before us is that of complete freedom from an autocratic rule."
5. Thakur Nachint Chand, elder brother of the Maharani, was an officer in the Dogra regiment.

that the Maharaja should take some kind of leave and not remain in Kashmir. It was proposed to put this matter to the Maharaja and to ask him to come to Delhi for the purpose. As he has not been here since then, I suppose nothing has been done. Meanwhile, the situation deteriorates and an open conflict is going on in the State between the adherents of the Maharaja and the adherents of Sheikh Abdullah.

This conflict gets mixed up with relief work, which is conducted on communal lines. In the intelligence report mention was made of the Yuvraj getting mixed up with this business. This will be unfortunate, as the Yuvraj is fairly popular at present. If he gets tied up with these conflicts, he will also become unpopular.

The next two or three months are going to be rather critical in regard to Kashmir and many possible developments may take place. We have to be ready for all of them in so far as we can. But that readiness for developments will be powerfully affected by this growing and open conflict between the Maharaja and Abdullah. I think that we should seize ourselves of this matter, in the manner suggested previously, and take steps accordingly. As I am going away day after tomorrow, I wanted to put this to you so that you might consider it. I am rather anxious about it and feel very much that something should be done.

I am sending a copy of this letter of Gopalaswami Ayyangar.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

KASHMIR

II. The Military Situation

1. To K.M. Cariappa¹

New Delhi
February 22, 1949

My dear Cariappa,

Sheikh Abdullah has just been to see me. He said that full effect had not yet been given to our decision to place the State forces completely under the administrative control of our Army Headquarters. Also that the question of the State Militia was still pending. Or rather that many questions pertaining to it have not been decided. Could you please let me know how matters stand in regard to both these questions.² As I told you some days ago, it is of great political importance to us that the complete administrative control of the State forces should be with our Army Headquarters.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. As decided by the agreement of 5 January 1949.

2. To Prince Pendup¹

19 March 1949

Dear Friend,²

I got your letter of 14 January 1949³ sent through Major Hari Chand.⁴ I am very much thankful to you for it. I am very glad to know that Ladakh is now calm and quiet and people are living in the monasteries without any fear.⁵ I do want to visit Ladakh and, God willing, I will visit it soon.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 13(16)-Pt/49,p.7/corr., M.E.A., N.A.I. (Original in Hindi).
2. Prince of Ladakh.
3. Pendup expressed his gratitude to Nehru for defeating the enemy and bringing back peace to the Ladakhi people. He invited Nehru to visit Ladakh.
4. Army officer in Ladakh.
5. In November 1948, Indian troops, under the command of General Thimayya, entered Ladakh via Zojila Pass and liberated an area of 22000 square miles in the Ladakh valley occupied by Pakistani intruders.

3. The Diversion of Battalions in Kashmir¹

I agree with Secretary-General's note. We should immediately give thought to the situation in Jammu and Kashmir State and prepare ourselves for possible developments, whatever they might be. I suggest that Defence Headquarters might consider this question fully and then report to the Defence Committee. The Defence Committee might meet soon after my return from England, by which time the Defence Headquarters should be ready with their suggestions and specific plans. Of course, if necessary, the Defence Committee will meet earlier, even in my absence.

2. At yesterday's small conference to consider the United Nations Commission's proposals,² the Commander-in-Chief³ expressed the opinion that it would be advantageous for us to remove about 15 battalions from their present positions in the State and place them somewhere on our lines of communications, but on the Pathankot side. He said this was the right thing to do from the military point of view, because it was important that we should protect those lines of communications fully and not allow ourselves to be taken by surprise. A surprise attack there and our inability to defend those lines would put us in a very disadvantageous position.

3. Politically, of course, any removal of our troops in Kashmir would probably rather frighten people in Kashmir State, more especially, the minorities. They might think that we are quitting Kashmir and panic might well result. Of course if this was part of a plan of large-scale withdrawal by Pakistan from the other side, it might not have that particular result or, at any rate, the result will be lesser in degree.

1. Note to the Secretary-General, M.E.A., 17 April 1949. File No. 52/335/NGO/-55, M.E.A., N.A.I.
2. The U.N. Kashmir Commission, after several meetings with the Indian and Pakistani representatives, presented a proposal on 15 April, which was revised and finalized on 28 April 1949. The proposal prescribed a ceasefire line based on the factual position of the forces on 1 January 1949 and its extension in the northern part of Jammu and Kashmir; a phased withdrawal of Pakistani troops and the bulk of Indian forces with provisions for administration of evacuated territory under the Commission's surveillance; release of prisoners of war and political prisoners; return of law and order; and a guarantee of human rights.
3. K.M. Cariappa.

4. I do not myself think that any sudden break will take place over the Kashmir issue. Even if that break takes place, it will not be a final break and there will be no resumption of hostilities immediately after. But these are all probabilities and we can take no risks. I think it is urgently necessary for us to protect our lines of communications. It is a legitimate line of thought that in case of a resumption of hostilities, they will not be confined to the State alone. We have therefore to be prepared in a larger field.

5. Therefore it seems the wiser course for us is to decide to remove some battalions from the Jammu and Kashmir fronts and place them on our lines of communications. If this is done, it should be done as quietly and unobtrusively as possible, and preferably not in a bunch, but in dribblets. The impression should not be created that we are withdrawing, but rather that we are rearranging our forces. These battalions might come to Jammu or near it and then slowly be sent to the Pathankot side.

6. All this is based on the Commander-in-Chief's appreciation. I should like the Defence Minister to consider this matter and for his and the Commander-in-Chief's senior colleagues also to consider it. So far as I am concerned, if they think that it is desirable to remove these battalions, as suggested, I am agreeable to it. In fact I think the case for their being placed on the lines of communications is a strong one. Only I should like this to be done as quietly as possible and without any fuss. This transfer of some of our battalions is not connected with the United Nations Commission's proposals. There is little likelihood of an agreement being arrived at on those proposals. What happens then is not quite clear to me. Probably nothing much will happen suddenly before Shri Bajpai and I return from England. If, however, any development takes place, which necessitates full and urgent conversations with the Commission, then Shri Bajpai can come back immediately from London without waiting for my return. As he has been dealing with the Commission throughout, it is desirable that he should continue to do so. A new man would be at a disadvantage. Probably our work in London, or the major part of it certainly, will be over in the first week and it will not be very difficult then for Shri Bajpai to return. The Deputy Prime Minister will no doubt communicate with me on this subject, if he considers it necessary.

Copies of Secretary-General's note and this note of mine should be sent to the Deputy Prime Minister, the Defence Minister, Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, the Commander-in-Chief and the Secretary-General.

The Defence Minister will of course keep in constant touch with developments. I would particularly request the Deputy Prime Minister and Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar also to keep in touch with them.

KASHMIR

III. The U.N. Commission

1. Abduction of Kashmiri Women¹

I think it is desirable for us to draw the attention of the U.N. Commission to this matter of Kashmiri women being carried away by the tribesmen. We might even write a letter to them on this subject and then refer to it again in our talks with them.²

1. Note to Secretary-General, Ministry of External Affairs, 23 February 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. In fact, the U.N. Kashmir Commission did not consider this matter in 1949 and 1950.

2. Cable to Chester W. Nimitz¹

The United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan has communicated to me your acceptance of the office of Plebiscite Administrator.² On behalf of the Government of India, and on my own behalf, I wish you every success in this responsible task. The Government of India, who were the very first to affirm that the people of Jammu and Kashmir should determine their future of their own free will, will give you every assistance in ensuring that this purpose is peacefully achieved. Your high distinction in the service of your great country should, if I may say so, be a source of confidence to all in the fulfilment of your mission.

1. New Delhi, 29 March 1949. Full text as in P.I.B.
2. (1885-1966); Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Pacific Fleet, 1941-45; Fleet, Admiral, 1944; Chief of Naval Operations, U.S., 1945-47; Special Assistant to Secretary of U.S. Navy, 1947-49.

3. The Role of the U.N.C.I.P.¹

H.V. Kamath requested the Prime Minister to state the terms of reference and the scope of inquiry of the U.N.C.I.P., the nature of consultations between the U.N.C.I.P. and the representatives of India and Pakistan, and the stage of settlement of the Kashmir problem.

Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) the Honourable Member's attention is invited to the relevant part of the Security Council's Resolution dated April 21, 1948, a copy of which is placed on the table.

(b) There have been oral discussions between representatives of the Government of India and the Commission, and also correspondence. From time to time, I have kept the House informed of the result of these negotiations.

(c) As the House already knows, the Government of India have accepted the Commission's resolutions dated the 13th August 1948 and 5th January 1949. The text of these two resolutions and of papers elucidating the Government of India's acceptance of them will be found in the documents regarding Kashmir which I presented to the House on 3rd February 1949. Discussions regarding a truce agreement as envisaged in Part II of the Commission's resolution of 13th August 1948 are still in progress. The Secretary-General of the United Nations has, after necessary consultations, nominated Admiral Chester Nimitz as Plebiscite Administrator.

H.V. Kamath enquired whether the liquidation of the 'Azad Kashmir' Government and the disbandment of the 'Azad Kashmir' forces were among the conditions of the New Year's ceasefire agreement.

JN: The Honourable Member is getting a little mixed up with the ceasefire and other things. So far as the ceasefire was concerned, it was a pure and simple ceasefire, but of course, behind that ceasefire there were other developments, certain

1. 5 April 1949, *Constituent Assembly Debates (Legislative) Official Report*, Vol. III, Part I, 18th March—7th April 1949. p. 2137.

resolutions which had been passed by the Security Council and certain resolutions by the United Nations Commission on Kashmir. In those arrangements were involved, according to us, the disbandment and disarming of the forces in what is termed 'Azad Kashmir territory.' As for the liquidation of the certain 'Azad Kashmir' Government, the question did not arise, because we have never acknowledged the existence of any such thing.

Mahavir Tyagi enquired whether the Prime Minister knew about the A.I.R. news that India was delaying settlement in Kashmir with the hope to waive the plebiscite with the help of the U.N.C.I.P., and that in case plebiscite took place Pakistan was confident to win.

JN: I am sorry I have not been listening to the Radio, but apart from what has been said, I should like to make it perfectly clear that any such solution or suggestion made on behalf of any person is completely devoid of any foundation. We are bound by the declarations made by us and by the commitments we have accepted. Those commitments are that a plebiscite should be held under certain conditions and those conditions are stated with extreme accuracy and clarity in the resolutions and aide memoires. By that we stand and we do not stand by anything else.

RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN

1. To Roshan Ghani¹

New Delhi
February 18, 1949

My dear Roshan,

I have your letter of the 15th February.² I am writing again to Liaquat Ali Khan on this subject and I enclose a copy of my letter to him. Please keep this as private.

I cannot tell you how distressed I am about Badshah Khan and our other friends in the Frontier. It angers me to feel that we are helpless in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Roshan Ghani had reported that her father-in-law Abdul Ghaffar Khan had been kept in solitary confinement in Montgomery jail for eight months, in spite of his failing health and age. She implored Nehru to take the matter up with the Pakistan Government and seek his release.

2. To Liaquat Ali Khan¹

New Delhi
February 18, 1949

My dear Nawabzada,

You will remember that I wrote to you some months ago about Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Dr. Khan Saheb.² You were good enough to reply to me and I had hoped that there might be some improvement in the condition of his confinement. I have just received a letter from Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's daughter-in-law. She is exceedingly distressed at the news she continues to receive about her father-in-law who, it appears, is confined in the habitual prison at Montgomery. She informs me that he has been in solitary confinement ever since his arrest nearly eight months ago. He has kept very indifferent health and has for a time been really ill.

I am venturing to write to you again on this subject, as it is a matter which has caused us and continues to cause us the deepest pain. We do not express it

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Nehru to Liaquat Ali Khan, 3 October 1948, *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 7, p.117.

in public and hardly in private. But the fact remains that the treatment accorded to Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, one of the bravest and finest persons in our country, is a matter of very great concern to vast numbers of persons. We want and you want, I am sure, that the relations between India and Pakistan should continue to improve. The case of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and some of his colleagues is a running sore in people's minds. We have transferred from one Dominion to another prisoners and even persons condemned to death who have been subsequently set free. And yet a man of the highest integrity and devotion to a cause continues to suffer in this way.

I have no desire at all to interfere in the internal affairs of Pakistan. But I would be false to myself and to you, if I did not tell you how deeply we feel in this matter and how it comes in the way of the development of better relations between our respective countries.

May I suggest that, quite apart from political reasons and even on humanitarian grounds, his solitary confinement should cease and that he should be kept with some of his own people and in more congenial surroundings. I would personally have thought that much more than this was called for and I hope indeed that you will consider this. But in any event the continuation of solitary confinement for him or for others situated like him is a tragedy which can only lead to unfortunate consequences.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To Liaquat Ali Khan¹

New Delhi
February 26, 1949

My dear Nawabzada,

I am giving this note of introduction to Miss Agatha Harrison who is going to Karachi for a few days and is anxious to meet you. Perhaps you have met her previously as she has often come to India, but I gather that she has not had the opportunity of seeing much of you in the past. Miss Harrison has been connected with the Society of Friends in England, who have, in their quiet and unostentatious way, served the cause of our country's freedom in the past and generally tried to bring about friendly relations between the people of India, as it was, and the British

1. J.N. Collection.

people. In the new context of things they have endeavoured to help in bringing about friendly relations between India, Pakistan and the United Kingdom. Miss Harrison was associated with Gandhiji for many years. She is a very good friend of ours and I should be grateful to you if you give her an opportunity to meet you and others in Karachi.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. On Punjab Canal Waters¹

I think this matter² should be put up before the Cabinet at its next meeting. In the meantime, certainly an engineer should prepare the case. I agree that the engineer should not be from the East Punjab Government. As a matter of fact it is for the East Punjab Government lawyers and engineers to prepare their case anyhow and they should be asked to do so. The matter has been pending for a long time and these E.P. lawyers and engineers have been at it. I suppose they have got some kind of a case ready. This should be obtained for the consideration of any lawyer we might appoint.

Our External Affairs Legal Adviser, Kanwar Dalip Singh, might take this matter up. This is exactly the kind of thing he is supposed to do. If it is desired to give some assistance or to have some junior lawyer to prepare the case specially, Mr. G.N. Joshi might be engaged, as recommended.

There are other lawyers here who might prove useful in this connection. For instance, Bakshi Tek Chand, an ex-Judge of the Punjab Chief Court. There is also Diwan Ram Lal, who was till recently the Chief Justice of East Punjab. But perhaps an independent lawyer from outside without any previous connection with this case might be better to prepare the case.

In any event the matter should be put up before the Cabinet to consider whether we should register the Agreement of 4th May with the United Nations and what other steps we should take.

1. Note to the Ministry of Irrigation and Power, 8 March 1949. File No. F.8-CWD/49, (I.T. Section) 1949, Ministry of Irrigation.
2. On the question of registering the Indo-Pakistan Agreement of 4 May 1948 with the U.N. Secretariat see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 6, p.66 and Vol. 9, p.235.

5. To Liaquat Ali Khan¹

New Delhi
March 15, 1949

My dear Nawabzada,

I should like to draw your attention to two leading articles in the *Dawn* newspaper appearing in the issues of the 12th and 14th March. One of these is entitled "Trade Policy" and the other "Wishful Delhi". They refer to the Government of India's desire to encourage free trade as far as possible between Pakistan and India. How far free trade is practicable or desirable it is for the two countries to determine. But for the last many months during inter-Dominion conferences as well as during private conversations, the necessity to remove trade barriers between India and Pakistan has been repeatedly stressed on both sides. We have been anxious to do everything in our power to promote friendly relations between the two countries and to remove causes of conflict. In our anxiety to achieve this we have been thinking more and more of a trade policy which would lead to the removal of such barriers as far as possible. Now that a suggestion to this effect is made,² we are treated to the kind of articles in *Dawn* to which I am drawing your attention. I shall not say much about these articles and I leave it to you to judge whether this is the kind of response that might be called friendly and cooperative. If it is not Pakistan's desire to go ahead in this or in other directions, we shall naturally adapt our policy accordingly. In view, however, of your repeated statements that Pakistan is anxious and eager to promote friendly and cooperative relations with India, this type of criticism and sarcastic comment does not seem to fit in with your declared policy. In one of your speeches you said that Pakistan is prepared to clap hands, but one hand could not be clapped by itself. The suggestion was, I presume, that the Government of India was not reciprocating in the matter. My own impression has been the exact reverse of this. In any event the way our present approach has been met by Pakistan would seem to indicate that the noncooperation is on the side of Pakistan. I shall be glad to know what Pakistan's policy is in regard to trade matters. We have been led to believe by our talks that it was different from what the *Dawn* newspaper states and we had proceeded on that basis. If we have been misled, I shall be grateful to be corrected by you.

I should like to draw your attention also to the report of an interview which Sir Zafrullah Khan gave to the correspondent of the London *Observer* in Karachi.

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. In a speech in the Legislative Assembly on 12 March, the Commerce Minister, K.C. Neogy, suggested a joint economic policy between India and Pakistan and said that unofficially "we are examining the possibility of a customs union" though the ideal solution would be an economic union.



WITH LADY MOUNTBATTEN AT KARNAL REFUGEE CAMP, 21 FEBRUARY 1949



AT THE KURUKSHETRA REFUGEE CAMP, 21 FEBRUARY 1949



WITH JENS SCHIVE, MINISTER OF NORWAY IN NEW DELHI, 28 MARCH 1949



WITH MEMBERS OF THE U.N.C.I.P. IN NEW DELHI, 29 MARCH 1949

This has recently appeared in *Dawn*. This interview deals with the situation in Burma and the recent informal talks about Burma that were held in Delhi.³ In some particulars the interview gives an incorrect version of what happened. We have verified this from the U.K. High Commissioner's office here also and he agreed that this was so. I hope you will appreciate that the manner of dealing with the Burma question by Sir Zafrullah Khan in this interview is not conducive towards a joint approach of any kind which we were anxious to have. The steps we took were taken in complete cooperation with the other countries concerned and after full reference to the Pakistan Government and to the Burmese Government. The Burmese Government entirely agreed with them and it was only then that the talks took place.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Five Commonwealth countries, the U.K., Australia, India, Sri Lanka and Pakistan, met at New Delhi on 1 March in an informal Commonwealth conference and agreed that peace and prosperity should be restored to Burma through conciliation. They decided to send a joint communique to the Prime Minister of Burma suggesting to him to find ways and means to a peaceful settlement.

6. India and the N.W.F.P.¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes,² the attention of the Government has been drawn to the communique³ issued by the North West Frontier Province Government in which

1. 19 March 1949. *Constituent Assembly (Legislative) Debates, Official Report*, Vol. III, Part I, 18 March–7 April 1949.
2. Deshbandhu Gupta enquired whether the attention of the Government had been drawn to a communique issued by the N.W.F.P. Government and what action the Government proposed to take in the matter.
3. The communique issued on 14 March 1949 stated: "A heinous plot of murdering the Frontier Prime Minister has been unearthed and it had been found that Red Shirts in Hazara district have been continuously passing information to the Indian Union and Sheikh Abdullah to checkmate efforts of Pakistan to bring Kashmir within Pakistan." It accused India of sending money to the Khudai Khidmatgars with a promise to send more on the completion of the plot.

various allegations have been made about a plot in which Red Shirts in the Hazara District are said to be involved. Government have seen this communique with surprise and great regret. While the communique does not mention the Government of India specifically, the entire wording of the communique insinuates that the Indian Union is a party to some plot against the North West Frontier Province Government and the Pakistan Government and it is stated that money has passed from India to the Red Shirts. So far as they are concerned, the Government of India repudiate these allegations and they have made a strong protest to the Pakistan Government in regard to the insinuations contained in the communique of the North West Frontier Province Government, which must have an injurious effect on the relations between the two Dominions.

2. Government have refrained from expressing any opinion so far in regard to the very serious happenings in the Frontier Province as well as the tribal areas in the North-West because of their desire not to interfere, in any way, with the internal affairs of other Governments. They have, however, viewed these developments during the past year with increasing concern. It is well known that the Khudai Khidmatgars, or the Red Shirts as they are sometimes called, under the leadership of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Dr. Khan Sahib, played a very notable part in the struggle for the freedom of India from foreign domination. The high integrity, selflessness and patriotism of these leaders have been admired not only all over India but in other parts of the world. They showed a remarkable example of peaceful action, even under the greatest provocation, and set a standard which it was not easy to follow even in other parts of India. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan took the doctrine of non-violent action to the brave and warlike Pathans and turned their great energy into peaceful channels. Perturbed by the partition of India, he nevertheless accepted it in all sincerity and publicly declared his adherence to the new order of things, claiming, however, that the Pathans were entitled to autonomy in regard to their internal affairs. He followed this policy of accepting Pakistan, but at the same time standing peacefully for the internal freedom of the Pathans, and it is impossible for any person acquainted with this gallant fighter for freedom to believe that he can be associated in any way with any underhand activities. His outstanding qualities are straightforwardness, integrity, courage and devotion to the cause of his people.

3. While the Government and the people of India, having accepted partition and its consequences, loyally abided by these changes and did not wish to interfere with local happenings within Pakistan, it was impossible for them not to take the deepest interest in the fate of some of the bravest and finest soldiers of freedom that India had produced. They were distressed, therefore, at the series of happenings in the Frontier Province during which intense repression took place of the peaceful Khudai Khidmatgars, and their leaders were more especially subjected to treatment of a kind which one would not expect any Government to mete out. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, a man of the highest standing for a generation past in India, has

been kept in solitary confinement for over a year and his health has suffered greatly during this period. I do not wish to recount all that has happened in the Frontier Province during this past year and more, but the tale that has reached us from time to time is a sorry one. We have remained quiet and we have not had any kind of contact with the Khudai Khidmatgars or their leaders ever since the partition, but the sufferings of our old comrades of the days of our fight for India's freedom have distressed us exceedingly.

4. In the communique issued by the North West Frontier Province Government Sheikh Abdullah and Kashmir have been mentioned. It will be remembered that the Frontier Province Government, and more particularly its Premier, played a very active part in organizing and helping the raiders to enter Kashmir in October 1947 and onwards. In particular it is well known that its activities in regard to Kashmir have been most objectionable.

5. In conclusion, I would like to repeat that we regard the communique issued by the North West Frontier Province Government as unwarranted by fact and unfortunate in its effect on Indo-Pakistan relations which we have been trying to improve.

Deshbandhu Gupta wanted to know if any reply has been received from the Pakistan Government so far.

JN: No reply has come to us yet.

Deshbandhu Gupta asked whether the Government proposed to take this matter up in the next Inter-Dominion Conference.

JN: We shall consider that matter.

R.K. Sidhva enquired on what date the protest was sent.

JN: About three days ago.

H.V. Kamath asked whether Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan stated that he would welcome the end of partition and a union of Pakistan and India.

JN: I do not know what the Honourable Member is referring to, but I can remember no such statement.

7. Record of Interview with Ghulam Mohammad¹

I met Mr. Ghulam Mohammad this evening and had about 45 minutes talk with him. He began by referring to a telegram² I had sent to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan about *Dawn's* comment on our proposals to have a customs union. He drew my attention to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's reply,³ which has just come. He told me that they were eager to remove customs barriers between India and Pakistan, but that this could not be done in a hurry. We had to proceed gradually and step by step. He said that he would speak to Mr. Neogy about it.

2. He referred to Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and to the letter I have written to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan on this subject.⁴ All he said was that Abdul Ghaffar Khan was not in solitary confinement, he was provided with books and newspapers, and that he had not lost weight.

3. I mentioned Noakhali to him and the arrest of some workers of the Gandhi Ashram.⁵ He said that he was very sorry to learn this and some people in East Bengal were very foolish and misbehaved. He could hardly believe that people connected with Gandhiji would be guilty of what had been alleged. The matter was being referred to the Governor-General of Pakistan.

4. He talked generally about the situation in China and the growth of communism in Asia. This required close cooperation between India and Pakistan as well as far-reaching agrarian reforms. The communist movement in Asia was essentially an agrarian movement and fed on backward social conditions. This could only be met by agrarian reform and socialized farming.

1. Note to the Secretary-General, M.E.A., New Delhi, 1 April 1949. File No. 6/49-Pak/A, M.E.A., N.A.I. Ghulam Mohammad was at this time Finance Minister of Pakistan.

2. See *ante*, item 5.

3. Liaquat Ali Khan wrote on 1 April that *Dawn* was not controlled by the Pakistan Government and that the two articles mentioned by Nehru were mainly a criticism of the policy followed by the Pakistan Government. "We are in favour of economic cooperation and collaboration with India to mutual advantage." But he doubted India's sincerity in pursuing such a policy and cited in support of India's "refund of excise duty to every country except Pakistan."

4. See item 3.

5. In Noakhali, East Pakistan, the district officers and the police had joined hands with communal elements and made Gandhi Ashram their main target for attack. In September 1948 Col. Jeewan Singh was arrested on the false charge of abducting a Hindu woman for immoral purposes. In February 1949, two workers of the Gandhi camp had been imprisoned in a murder case. Two other workers of the Kazirkhil camp were arrested on undeclared charges.

5. He then referred to the tension between Afghanistan and Pakistan.⁶ He assured me that Pakistan had not spent a pie in trying to create disorder in India. I told him that if he thought India had been spending money in creating disorder on the Frontier or elsewhere, he was very much mistaken. He said that if there was trouble in Afghanistan or on the border, India's interests would also be affected and the Soviet would probably take possession of a certain frontier area in Afghanistan.

6. I asked him what Pakistan's attitude was going to be at the Dominion Prime Ministers' Conference in London.⁷ His answer was more or less to the effect that they would watch and see and much would depend on what India did. They had not yet decided whether Pakistan should have a republican form of government or not. They did not attach much importance to the forms, they were after the substance.

7. Finally he said that he was happy that Indo-Pakistan relations were improving. If only the Kashmir issue was solved, the progress would be rapid.

6. In March 1949 the Kabul press and radio demanded that the areas between the "Durand Line" and the Indus, comprising the North West Frontier Province and the tribal territory, be regarded as an independent "Pathanistan", and given the "right of self-determination."
7. See Section 2, item 7.

8. To K.C. Neogy¹

New Delhi
9 April 1949

My dear Neogy,

Thank you for your letter of the 9th April. I am glad that you have arrived at some kind of a partial agreement for better trade relations between India and Pakistan.² I had a talk with Ghulam Mohammad on this subject and he took up the line which he later repeated to you.

1. File No. 74/CF/49, Part I, Cabinet Secretariat Papers.
2. On 3 April 1949 the Government of India had come to an agreement with Pakistan, by which India would allow free export of certain commodities, such as mustard oil, matches, salt, silk, soap, and electrical goods to Pakistan without licences. The Government of India retained the right to impose quantitative restrictions, but gave Pakistan the top priority to purchase exportable surplus.

In view of the fact that at a Cabinet meeting a little while ago we decided to try to improve trade relations with Pakistan more or less on the lines indicated, and as the Economic Committee of the Cabinet has generally approved of the agreement, I think you can go ahead immediately and not wait for a formal meeting of the Cabinet. You can therefore act on the agreement as soon as you are informed by Pakistan of their acceptance.

We are having a Cabinet meeting on the 13th morning. You can mention this matter then. If you like, you can send a note on the subject to the Cabinet Secretariat previously.

I do not myself see the point at all in sending experts from here to France, Italy and the Benelux countries in order to study their customs and economic unions. You can get all the information necessary through our embassies there. I suggest that you send telegrams to them asking for this information. We can consider later whether it is necessary to send someone. Even so, it might be easier to ask some competent officer from India House to go there and send a report.

I think it is a good idea that Commerce Secretaries should visit each other alternately once a month.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

REHABILITATION OF REFUGEES

1. Refugees from East Bengal¹

May I say a word about this question of helping refugees from Eastern Pakistan?² Of course there can be no differentiation whatever in regard to the help given to any refugee, whether from the West or the East. There is none. But the question in regard to rehabilitation which arises has to be placed on a slightly different footing. That is, we are rehabilitating people through the agency of the West Bengal Government. I cannot say what the Government of India is doing directly but naturally we are functioning as far as possible through the agency of the West Bengal Government. At the same time, we are trying, as the Honourable Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation has said, as far as possible not to encourage any large number migrating. Those who have come of course we shall help as far as we can. We could not really control that, because that depended so much on the policy of the East Bengal Government. However, recent events have shown that the migration has stopped practically completely in the last two or three months. Now we have a static problem, that is, those who have already come over. Out of these some have gone back. I do not think any large numbers have gone back but a few have gone back and a few more may go. Meanwhile plans for rehabilitation are being considered. We hope that more will return. But naturally that will depend on circumstances on the other side too. Meanwhile large numbers are being provided for. The question of rehabilitation is being considered, but we always live in the hope that many of them may be able to go back because of conditions arising which would enable them to go back. If they do not, of course it is our responsibility and we are proceeding on those lines.

1. *Speech in the Constituent Assembly. Constituent Assembly (Legislative), Official Report, 16 February 1949, Vol. 1, Part I, 1 to 17 February 1949, p. 772.*
2. Questioned about the Government's policy towards refugees from East Pakistan, Mohanlal Saksena had replied that the Government sought to create conditions in East Pakistan to stop the exodus of refugees and to encourage them to go back. Joint Property Boards and Minority Boards had been established to help them. The rest were to be rehabilitated in India.

2. Retaining the Momentum of Rehabilitation¹

I understand that various changes are taking place in regard to our relief camps for displaced persons from the beginning of March. These changes have been

1. Note to Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation, 25 February 1949. File No 29 (131) 49-PMS.

for displaced persons from the beginning of March. These changes have been discussed and generally approved. I am rather anxious, however, that we should not do something just at this moment which might completely upset the kind of work that we have been doing. The general impression I have, and this has been supported by independent evidence, is that the problem of rehabilitation is at last coming under control though only the beginnings of it are in evidence. Yet the beginnings are substantial enough. It would be a great pity to upset this and lose grip again. I shall be grateful if this matter is provisionally considered by the R. & R. Ministry and then discussed at the meeting of the R. & R. Cabinet Committee which is going to be held soon.

2. I have already written about the need for immediate arrangements to be made for summer and monsoon for people in the camps. This again is a vital matter which is to be tackled now.

3. Mr. Sen² of the International Refugee Organization gave me a brief report which I forwarded to the R. & R. Ministry. This report suggested several steps that we might take. Mr. Sen was particularly impressed by the rehabilitation at the Harijan Colony in Delhi and the Nilokheri Scheme³ of Mr. Dey. He said that he had not come across any better rehabilitation scheme in his experience anywhere. He was full of praise for the work done by Mr. S.K. Dey at Nilokheri and by Mrs. Matthai, Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru and Shri Sewakram⁴ at the Harijan Colony.

4. Mr. Sen made the following suggestions:-

(i) That it is most important that a number of social workers, men or women, be trained immediately to deal with the human aspect of the refugee problem. He suggested that we should take a hundred in hand immediately. This aspect has not been neglected by us. But still we have not paid enough attention to it and it is the most vital part of the work. We really require thousands of such social workers. He suggested that the Women's Section of R. & R. Ministry might be asked to organize this training centre for relief workers and that they might be helped, if necessary, by the Tata School people. I think this recommendation is worth being adopted. The people to be trained should normally be themselves displaced persons and the training period should not be long. It might be about three months.

2. Nikhil Sen worked with the International Refugee Organization in Italy.
3. The township extended over an area of 1,300 acres of mostly evacuee land which was once a swamp. It was built as a vocational training centre and was planned as a rural-urban settlement with reciprocal relations with the surrounding villages. The township was completed in 1951.
4. (b. 1901); participated in freedom struggle; Secretary of Harijan Sevak Sangh, Sind, and at this time Honorary Director of the Harijan Section in the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation, Government of India.

(ii) The kind of work that Mr. Dey is doing at Nilokheri is exceedingly good. But it is rather a pity for Mr. Dey to confine his activities at Nilokheri. He should be asked to start other centres more or less like Nilokheri. Meanwhile, he can continue to supervise Nilokheri.

5. Some time back Sardar Patel mentioned to me that the Saurashtra Government had suggested that the money being spent on relief in Saurashtra which is considerable might be allotted to them for relief of all the displaced persons there. They will make themselves responsible for it, subject to the guidance of the Centre. They were apparently told that this could not be done and they must proceed on cooperative and other lines. I think this matter should be reconsidered. It is not always possible to have these cooperatives everywhere and if we can hand over responsibility for a large number of displaced persons to the Saurashtra Government, it would be worthwhile doing so.

6. At the next meeting of the R. & R. Cabinet Committee Mr. Nikhil Sen's report (copy of which has already been sent to R. & R. Ministry) should be circulated to members.

3. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
25 February 1949

My dear Rajaji,

You will remember that I suggested long ago that a meeting of the United Council for Relief and Welfare² should be held while Edwina is here. I understand that a meeting of the Council will be held early next month. I suggest that this meeting should not merely be more or less a social affair but one to consider the general scheme of work of the United Council both now and for the future. In order to do this effectively, it is desirable to have a meeting of the Executive Committee before the full Council meets. It is really the Executive that will do this work properly and draw up plans for the future. After that the Council can meet and consider the recommendations.

In any event, I think, quite apart from Edwina's presence here, we should survey the work of the United Council. The Council was constituted during a period of emergency and it has worked more or less on the lines laid down then. It has done good work and it is clear that its activities should be continued. Although the immediate emergency is over, the aftermath is likely to continue for long. The

1. File No. 29(67)/48-PMS.

2. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 5, p.149.

nature of our work must therefore be considered from the point of view of the new situation and the future. This requires careful thinking and working out of plans and the Executive Committee should have a full discussion on this.

May I suggest therefore that a meeting of the Executive Committee should precede the meeting of the Council by at least a day and should be given enough time for full discussion. Edwina agrees with this. I know you are very busy during the early days of March, so are all of us. I would not suggest that you should yourself remain all the time at these meetings. You can remain for such time as you can spare and then allow the Committee to carry on its discussion by itself. Edwina's programme, as at present arranged, is to remain at Delhi from the 3rd March to the 8th. There is a slight possibility of her going to Jammu for a day during this period. But I rather doubt if this will materialize. In any event she will no doubt give preference to the meeting of the United Council and its Executive to any visit to Jammu. I am also going to be here from the 3rd to the 8th of March.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

4. The Harijan Section of the Rehabilitation Ministry¹

I attach a letter from the Women's Section of the Ministry of R. & R. I am surprised to learn that the sanction of the Harijan Section expires today and notices are being given to their workers. It is rather extraordinary that such a matter should be brought to my notice on the very last day. Surely the Women's Section ought to have been more vigilant, if they wanted me to interfere in it and had referred this to me earlier. Indeed, it was up to the Ministry of R. & R. to bring this matter before the Cabinet Committee before taking such a step as winding up the Harijan Section.

I am entirely opposed to this proposal of winding up this Section. It has done excellent work and there is plenty to be done still. To wind it up at this stage would be not only to prevent future work being done but to imperil the work already done. In the matter of Harijans and the like we have to take very special care because they require more help than others.

Will you please inform the Ministry of R. & R. that the Harijan Section must not be wound up on any account till the matter has been fully considered by the Cabinet Committee on R. & R.? This is not a question for Finance to decide, though no doubt the opinion of Finance is always valuable. If there is any question of

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary, 28 February 1949. File No. 29(94)/48-PMS.

its being stopped the Cabinet itself will have to consider it and till then the Harijan Section must continue.

Please inform the Ministry of R. & R. and the Women's Section of it separately. Also tell them that I am very much surprised that such an important matter was not referred to us previously. It may be that the Harijan Section has to be reorganized. That is a matter which can be gone into.

5. To Mohanlal Saksena¹

New Delhi
March 4, 1949

My dear Mohanlal,

You know that the United Council for Relief and Welfare which Lady Mountbatten founded a year and a half ago has been doing admirable work. It consists of the representatives of a large number of other organizations. By bringing about cooperation between them, it has avoided all wastage of effort and friction and helped to build up relief work on a cooperative scale. It is meeting in a day or two to consider its future work.

I am quite convinced that this organization must be continued, though the nature of its work might slightly be changed from time to time. When it was started Gandhiji suggested that it should not make a separate appeal for funds and should rely on help either from Government or other relief funds. Sardar Patel agreed with this. Since then it has received help from the Prime Minister's Relief Fund. It is spending at the rate of about Rs. 50,000/- a month, most of this being spent in organizing productive work. It is gradually becoming a rather specialized body for this kind of work, which is a good thing.

It has nearly exhausted its financial resources. I think your Ministry should help it financially. Occasionally, for special purposes, I can give some money to it from the Prime Minister's Relief Fund. But the main burden of supporting it, I think, should fall on the Relief Ministry.

I understand that it is thinking in terms of looking after small children, and babies more especially, by providing creches etc.

The Governor-General is the President of the United Council and I am the Vice-President.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 29(67)/48/PMS.

6. To Mohanlal Saksena¹

New Delhi
March 6, 1949

My dear Mohanlal,

When you came to me today, I wanted to discuss several matters with you, but I was busy with other work then, and so I put it off.

I am greatly worried about the relief and rehabilitation situation. The immediate cause is the hunger-strike at Kingsway Camp.² But that is just a temporary cause. My real worry is that I have a feeling that there is very little human touch about our relief or rehabilitation schemes. All government or other activities require human understanding and human appeal. But in regard to relief and rehabilitation, this human appeal and understanding is of the most vital significance. I have an idea that vague schemes are put forward, very good in themselves, and usually left in the air with nobody to work for; that the Relief Ministry functions very strictly as a Government department with no life in it and no human approach to the people concerned; that the Ministry does not produce an impression of coordinated working or of carrying things to an end; policies are laid down and changed, and the people concerned are left in doubt as to where they are.

The scheme of converting relief camps into work centres was obviously a good one. Indeed it is the only way to proceed. And yet I do not know of any attempt really to work it out in practice and it was apparently expected that an automatic change would take place. There are some ideal work centres like Nilokheri etc. But apart from these fine examples, things are left much to themselves. More especially in regard to States, instructions are issued that relief camps should be turned into work centres and that the rations should either be stopped or reduced from a certain date. Having issued these instructions, no doubt the Relief Ministry thinks that it has done its duty. But the persons concerned at the other end have no conception of how to convert a relief camp into a work centre. Indeed this requires very special training and only a trained person can bring about this change.

Therefore, it becomes necessary that a trained organization should be built up for the purpose of converting camps into work centres. This organization should have a team of workers, which would contain some technical men also and organizers and persons knowing social work. This is not the business of a

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Eight refugees at Kingsway Camp went on hunger-strike for three days to protest against the proposed discontinuation of the "refugee allowance" and the generally unsympathetic attitude of the authorities towards refugee problems. The demands put forward by the Camp Association included grant of individual loans, continuation of their rations and allowances till they were properly rehabilitated and allotted residential and business accommodation in Delhi.

government officer sitting in an office issuing orders. So far as I know, this approach has not been made. We have talked recently about training social workers and something is being done. But something much more has got to be done, if really we are going to have work centres and this must be done centrally and cannot be left to local authorities. It is not fair to pass an order, make no other arrangements and then suddenly stop rations. I can very well understand the resentment caused to people who are frustrated and spiritless.

Apart from a central organization, such work may be entrusted in particular places to special organizations with some knowledge of this kind of work. At the recent United Council meeting you said that you had suggested this, but had no response. When asked if you had approached the United Council for Relief and Welfare, you said, no. This was a surprising answer, because the United Council for Relief and Welfare was the obvious organization to approach. It gave an impression that no serious effort had been made to approach organizations to undertake this work.

There have to be two approaches: (1) centrally with bands of trained workers and (2) for a particular camp to be handed over for this purpose to a special organization which knows its job.

In either event no change-over can take place till proper arrangements for that change-over are made.

The hunger-strike that is going on in Kingsway Camp is a kind of thing which, though limited, has a very bad effect on the mentality of large numbers of displaced persons. What the merits are, I do not know. I realize that there are some trouble-makers everywhere who cannot possibly be appeased or brought to see reason. But our approach nevertheless has continuously to be a general one and a reasonable one so that the great majority may understand that we are making every effort. There is a widespread opinion that we talk piously and do not achieve results. I am sorry to learn that even Vinoba Bhave's workers are thoroughly dissatisfied with things as they are and are withdrawing their cooperation from the Relief Ministry's work. This is a bad sign if it is a fact.

I hope that every effort will be made to put an end to the Kingsway strike. I fear an official approach will not succeed. They appear to have a grievance that they are left out of rehabilitation schemes. Also that while no satisfactory arrangements have been made for the future for them, their subsistence allowance is going to be stopped. I pass no opinion about the validity of these grievances. I am only concerned with the results and the widespread discontent and dissatisfaction and lack of faith in Government's activities.

In regard to loans, obviously we cannot issue loans to all and sundry. But it seems to me that too much stress on cooperatives which cannot be easily formed in the circumstances has produced a bad impression on the people. The matter has to be approached in a different way wherever possible.

What worries me, I repeat, is the wooden way of dealing with this problem

which seems to ignore human psychology. I wish you would impress upon all your officers that such an approach is completely ineffective. Indeed I should like to meet all your officers and address them myself. The Relief Ministry cannot function as a normal government department, but as a social welfare centre. Indeed I am beginning to think that the whole work should be organized from the social welfare point of view.

About East Bengal, the vast sums demanded by Dr. Roy are utterly beyond us. Nevertheless we cannot allow the problem to drift and bring disaster in its train. Therefore, I want you and your Ministry to put forward concrete proposals as to how to deal with the displaced persons in West Bengal.

We have recently had an instance of marked success in dealing with a very grave problem. This was the railway strike. Gopalaswami Ayyangar did a fine job of work in dealing with these people and it was largely because of his human understanding and handling that the strike was averted.³ Something of that type of approach is even more necessary in relief. When Nikhil Sen was here, he laid great stress on this to me and I entirely agreed with him.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 9, p.294.

7. Autonomous Boards for Rehabilitation¹

It is clear that the problem of rehabilitation of displaced persons will be with us for a considerable time to come. We hope that the numbers of persons to be catered for will be reduced progressively, but even so a hard core will remain. Rehabilitation involves not only the setting up of the person somewhere but following him up and seeing that he fits in. It involves the utilization of a large number of trained social workers. The problem is not merely a financial one but essentially a social one.

1. Note to Mohanlal Saksena, 18 March 1949. File No. 29(113)/48-PMS

Now that we have got over the first stage of relief and rehabilitation, we have to see the latter from a long-distance point of view which involves careful planning, training up of social workers, and keeping records of displaced persons. It should be viewed from the social point of view much more than any other. Provinces are being given large sums of money. It is quite possible that the use of this money might be affected by political considerations. It is desirable, therefore, that, as far as possible, rehabilitation in Provinces should be somewhat separated from the normal working of government. In other words semi-autonomous rehabilitation boards might be set up in the Provinces and charged with this work of rehabilitation. They might be in the nature of statutory corporations or something like it.

The same principle might apply to the Centre, that is, a corporation or a board to be set up with a large measure of autonomy to deal with rehabilitation only in all its phases. This should work as some kind of a mixture of a business concern and a social welfare organization.

This note might be put up for preliminary consideration before the Relief and Rehabilitation Committee of the Cabinet. If there is general approval of it, a more detailed scheme might be drawn up for the consideration of the Cabinet.

8. To Mohanlal Saksena¹

New Delhi
March 20, 1949

My dear Mohanlal,

I have received your letter of the 19th. I shall deal with it in a day or two and I hope that we can talk about some of the matters contained in it also.

Meanwhile I am writing to you about a rather urgent matter—the Bahawalpuris in Kurukshetra and Rajpura² camps. Amtul Salam came to see me today and was in a state of considerable distress. I understand she is going to see you too and will tell you all about it. I am, however, repeating some of the things which she brought to my notice.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. A refugee township in Punjab which later became an industrial town.

1. It is not quite clear who is responsible for the Rajpura camp, the East Punjab Government, or Patiala State, or the Centre.³ It appears that the East Punjab Government is not prepared to do much about it. Patiala State can hardly be expected to do anything. The result is that inevitably the Centre has to move in the matter. Anyhow I should like to know what the position is. It is highly unsatisfactory for this important matter to be left vague and undecided, or even delayed. A decision must be clearly arrived at. I do not myself see what other decisions there can be, except that the Centre should take charge of it.

2. I understand that there is water scarcity there and as a result the removal of Bahawalpuris from Kurukshetra has been stopped. About 5000 of them had already gone. They are in considerable difficulties there in regard to both water and food. Food is supplied no doubt, but not in a satisfactory way and there is lack of vegetables etc. It is not that these things cannot be arranged, but that nobody is responsible for doing so.

It was at my instance that the Bahawalpuris decided to go to Rajpura. I promised them that we would look after them there and convert the camp into a work centre where they would be taught various industries. I feel a certain responsibility for this. But apart from my responsibility, the fact remains that we cannot allow these people to go to seed. The result will be, and indeed is, that the other Bahawalpuris now in Kurukshetra will refuse to go and add to our difficulties.

Whenever such a new camp or work centre is established, obviously the first thing to do is for proper arrangements to be made and proper supervision. Immediately after work should be organized. There are plenty of persons among the refugees who can do some special type of work, like tailoring, carpentry, blacksmith, etc., if only they are given a chance and organized. This is a matter which should never be delayed because every delay means the accumulation of trouble and discontent and wastage of money.

3. I suggest that you should induce Dey⁴ to go there immediately with some of his assistants. He can spend a few days there and start the beginnings of an organization as a work centre. It need not be first rate to begin with, but something should be done and he should leave some of his assistants there for a while. He should himself visit it occasionally for advice. If by any chance Dey cannot go, (although I hope you will insist on his going) then someone else must be sent with this particular object and that someone must be suitable for the job.

Kindly look into this matter of Rajpura immediately and take quick action before the situation deteriorates. What happens in Rajpura will affect tens of thousands of refugees of Kurukshetra.

3. In January 1949 it was decided that a new statutory body to be called the Rajpura Development Board should be set up by Patiala and East Punjab Government for the rehabilitation of 60,000 non-Punjabi refugees, then living in Kurukshetra. The Government of India agreed to give a loan of rupees 2 crores for constructing a township there.

4. S.K. Dey.

At Kurukshetra the unregistered refugees, who were not being given rations, had promised to go to Rajpura, that is, the Bahawalpuris. Now for lack of water or other reasons we have stopped their transfer. As they are willing to go and we are not taking them ourselves, the responsibility for them, till we take them away, devolves upon us. They are entitled to claim rations, till they are sent. This matter might also be looked into. Of course rations should be given to those who definitely put their names down for Rajpura. Apart from this of course, as previously decided upon, women and children and others in distress should be given rations. In this matter I had a talk with Chandra⁵ previously and he knows the position.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. C.N. Chandra, then Secretary to Ministry of Rehabilitation.

9. To Gopichand Bhargava¹

New Delhi
March 31, 1949

My dear Gopichandji,

I enclose a copy of a personal letter I have received from Sir Zafrullah Khan about Qadian.² I do not know what the position is there now and whether your Government intends to requisition any of the Qadiani houses which had thus far been in their possession. The Ahmediyas in Qadian have not a good record of behaviour and I can quite understand any resentment that might be felt against them. But we have to remember also the fact that they are a widespread community all over the world and, as far as possible, we should avoid doing anything which gives rise to an agitation and to ill will.

I shall be grateful to you if you will let me know what the exact position is now.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Zafrullah Khan requested Nehru to intervene to stop the magistrate from vacating the houses of the Ahmediyas permitted to settle in Qadian after the partition.

10. To Mohanlal Saksena¹

New Delhi
April 8, 1949

My dear Mohanlal,

Your letter of April 8th.² The principles you lay down that the people in camps should be rapidly removed and rehabilitated is excellent. But I do not see any working out of that principle. To say that each town should take 10% more of its present population does not help in the slightest. Most towns have probably got more than 10% of refugees, and in even others it is not easy to push in thousands of new persons and expect them to make a living. Certainly you can try doing this and you may have a partial success.

Even in regard to your proposal, you or the Provincial Governments will have to provide some kind of accommodation near the existing town.

Regarding paragraph 3, I am inclined to agree with what you say.³

Regarding paragraph 4, I agree with you.⁴ Indeed, I think that each Provincial Government should have an expert rehabilitation board which should be given authority to deal with this matter.

You can bring up this and other points at the Premiers'⁵ meeting which you have convened...

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 29(72)/48-PMS.

2. Mohanlal Saksena wrote that the 7 lakh refugees living in camps could be dispersed and rehabilitated in different States and provinces by developing the towns so that they could absorb about 10% more of their present population.

3. The losses on loans to displaced persons which were shared equally by the provinces and the Centre, were considered too heavy by some provinces. Mohanlal Saksena suggested that the provinces might be given some assurance of fair and equitable treatment in this matter.

4. To ensure speedy rehabilitation Mohanlal Saksena thought it advisable for every Provincial Government to form a small committee of the Cabinet to deal with the problem.

5. See Section on Letters to the Premiers of Provinces, letter of 16 April 1949.

11. Rehabilitation in Assam¹

Assam is under-populated and it is in the interest of the Provincial Government to have a regulated scheme for filling up the hiatus according to their own plans. A frontier province cannot afford to remain under-populated. There is vacant, cultivable land in Assam and if the Provincial Government agrees to accept a quota of displaced persons, details can be worked out later as to how the land should be developed and displaced persons settled in convenient batches. Schemes for development of land can be drawn up later by experts of the Central and Provincial Governments, but it is essential that at this stage the Provincial Government should agree in principle to take a certain number of displaced persons.²

1. Remarks at a Conference of Provincial Premiers to discuss rehabilitation of displaced persons, 10 April 1949. File No. 29(146)/49-PMS. Extracts.
2. B.C. Roy suggested that Assam should take 30,000 refugees and mentioned Bihar also in this connection. The Premiers of Assam and Bihar expressed their disagreement without further investigation. Eventually, Nehru directed that:
 - (i) The Central Government should arrange to take a census of displaced persons in Assam and Bihar.
 - (ii) The Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation should visit Assam and Bihar and arrive at a settlement regarding the number of displaced persons to be settled in those provinces after discussion with representatives of the Provincial Governments concerned.

12. Child Refugees¹

I had been dozing off during the function. I came here to play with children because I feel happy to be in the company of children. Instead, I have had to sit and watch dances and hear songs. I myself can neither dance nor sing. I can be playful and if need arises can even stand on my head.

1. Speech at Women's and Children's Day function in New Delhi, 10 April 1949. From *The Hindustan Times* and *Hindusthan Standard*, 11 April 1949.

I feel deeply for the welfare of the children of India, particularly the refugee children. The nation's children, being an invaluable asset, must have every facility to equip themselves as the citizens of a great nation. Whatever our difficulties in the maintenance of homes for the unattached women and children we must see that these poor sufferers are not neglected.

However, the work being done by the Section of the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation is of the utmost importance and there is no question that all possible help should be given to it to train and look after children.²

How can that be done without providing it with alternative accommodation? And even if the worst happened, 50 or 100 of the children could go and live in my own house.³

You should remember your responsibility as the future citizens of India, a role for which you have to equip yourselves properly. The Government will continue their help in order to ensure that boys and girls are well looked after and receive the best possible training.

2. At this point one of the workers referred to the possibility of a children's institution being thrown out of a building which was then occupied by it.
3. From this point Nehru spoke directly to the children in Hindi.

13. Rehabilitation of Refugees in Provinces¹

Recently I had two separate conferences with Provincial Premiers relating to rehabilitation of displaced persons from Western and Eastern Pakistan. The attitude of the Provinces at these conferences was not very helpful. They disliked regulation or control from the Centre, and although most Provinces had a smaller number of displaced persons than the quota allotted to them, they were not willing to take any more. There was no sense of urgency or eagerness to help in this matter.

1. Remarks at a meeting of the Committee of the Cabinet for Relief and Rehabilitation, 12 April 1949. Cabinet Secretariat Papers.

14. To Mehr Chand Khanna¹

New Delhi
April 13, 1949

My dear Mehr Chand,

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur has sent me copies of correspondence with you about the rehabilitation of women and children.² It appears that she had forwarded to you offers made by various well-known organizations to take a number of women and children. In your answer you stated that you have already recommended to all Provincial and State Governments that full use should be made of the facilities available in existing private homes and institutions.

I do not myself see why we should go through this cumbrous procedure and add to our own difficulties as well as those of the Provincial and State Governments. If we have an offer from a well-known organization, then we should go straight ahead and accept it, provided the financial arrangements are satisfactory. All we need is to inform the Provincial Governments about it. Of course if the institution is not well-known, further enquiries should be made, if necessary, through the Provincial Government. For instance, the Mahila Ashram at Wardha, or Ashadevi³, Sevagram, or the Save the Children's Fund, Swaraj Bhawan, Allahabad, etc., are well-known places, which do not require any provincial recommendation. The more our women and children can be catered for by these institutions the better. They will get personal attention.

Of course I do not know the financial aspects.

I understand that Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant was prepared to offer a very fine school building at Naini Tal. This could accommodate 500 children. I would seize this offer. However slow-working we might be in regard to other displaced persons, I think in regard to children we cannot afford to be slow and every day counts.

I remember that when these private institutions were once mentioned, the amounts demanded by them for the upkeep of children seemed to me rather heavy. I think the institutions should definitely be work centres producing something and I believe that the cost could be reduced. I have no doubt that they will look after women and children much better than the kind of new homes that we might establish. We need not think of long-term cost for the present. We may think of a year or two and try, through productive work, to reduce this somewhat.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 29(21)/47-PMS.
2. On 11 April 1949, Mehr Chand Khanna, adviser to the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation wrote that except for All India Save the Children's Committee which decided to start a home in Swaraj Bhawan at Allahabad, nothing had been heard from any other private home or institution.
3. Worked with her husband, E.W. Aryanayakam, in Sevagram, Wardha, for many years to promote basic education.

15. The Problem of Rehabilitation in Delhi¹

The large influx of displaced persons into Delhi Province, and more specially in Old and New Delhi, has placed a very heavy burden on the Delhi Administration. The problem of rehabilitation comes up before us repeatedly. We are told, and rightly so, that unless two hundred thousand or more persons are removed from Delhi, there will be no real stability here, and yet it is a very difficult matter to remove people against their will and without having adequate alternative arrangements for them elsewhere.

2. I have found repeatedly that at least some of our difficulties in Delhi are due to a multitude of authorities functioning more or less separately, though sometimes they confer together. In regard to rehabilitation specially, we come up against a number of municipal and planning authorities functioning separately. It is true that they do confer together, but inevitably delays occur and sometimes these delays are inordinate.

3. Apart from this question of rehabilitation and planning for the future, other problems continually arise which are made more complicated by this division of authority. I am not quite clear about the present set up in Delhi Province, that is to say which Ministry is responsible for a particular aspect of the work. It appears, however, that many of our Ministries deal separately with the local authorities—the Chief Commissioner, Deputy Commissioner etc. Perhaps to some extent this is desirable and cannot be avoided. Thus, Health has a direct interest; so also Education, so perhaps W.M.P.² and so on. Nevertheless, the position is a peculiar one and must lead to confusion. Normally speaking, it should be the business of the Home Ministry to deal with a centrally administered area like Delhi and for everything to go through the Home Ministry to the local authorities. This should bring about some coordination. This does not mean necessarily that all direct contacts between Health and Education with local problems in Delhi should cease. That would probably not be desirable.

4. I am not quite clear about the present position or about any future set up which might be better. I would like the Home Ministry to give thought to it. I think that somewhat greater responsibility of the Home Ministry for Delhi would bring about better results and better coordination. Probably the Chief Commissioner and the Deputy Commissioner would prefer this also as they will know who to deal with.

5. Another possibility is for a small committee of representatives of Ministries concerned with Delhi to be formed. That could function in close conjunction with the Home Ministry.

1. Note to Home Ministry, 14 April 1949. File No. 28(40)/49-PMS.

2. Works, Mines and Power.

6. Anyhow, I should be grateful if the Home Ministry considers this matter, first by itself and then in consultation with the other Ministries concerned, and evolves schemes for better coordination and more effective working. This appears necessary on grounds of general principle and administration. It is all the more necessary because of the peculiar problems that arise from displaced persons and rehabilitation.

16. The Proposed New Township at Faridabad¹

Lady Nye, Mrs. Matthai, Smt. Mridula Sarabhai and Mr. B.N. Banerjee, Members of the Sub-Committee appointed by the United Council for Relief and Welfare, visited Faridabad this morning. Lady Nye saw me later and told me of this visit. I have received a note on this subject from Smt. Mridula Sarabhai. I understand a copy of this has been sent to you also.

2. It is clear to me that the Faridabad Camp has not only to be merely taken over by us, but has to be organized efficiently with great rapidity, so that everything is running properly before the monsoon starts. Also that the proposed new township of Faridabad has to be taken in hand and controlled by the same authority which controls the Camp. There can be no division of authority as between the Central Government and the East Punjab Government. As it is, little has been done in Faridabad by the East Punjab Government and we cannot afford to allow matters to slide. This case is going to be one of our test cases. Therefore two or three matters have to be decided immediately:

(1) General control of Faridabad Camp and the proposed new Faridabad township must rest with the Government of India. In regard to the Camp, immediate charge may be handed over to the United Council for Relief and Welfare. In regard to the proposed township some kind of a board should be set up which will contain representatives of the Government of India, the United Council and the East Punjab Government. But it should be clearly understood that the general control of this business of planning, etc., is with the Government of India. In any event that would have been desirable. In the present state of East Punjab politics, this has become absolutely essential.

1. Note to Mohanlal Saksena, 15 April 1949. File No. 29(150)/49-PMS.

(2) In order to do work rapidly and efficiently, the help of the army must be sought. This means Sappers and Miners helping in fixing the camp and later on preparing the ground for the new township. I have already spoken to the Commander-in-Chief about this and he has generally approved of the proposal and has promised to do his best. Details have to be worked out and the Commander-in-Chief is seeing Lady Nye tomorrow about it.

(3) Lady Nye also proposed that a company of combatant troops might be placed for watch and ward duties. To this also the Commander-in-Chief was on the whole agreeable, subject to details being worked out. The period of Sappers and Miners and the other troops to be stationed at Faridabad was mentioned as six months. No definite period need be fixed, though six months may be kept in view. Naturally if an emergency arises, these troops and the Sappers and Miners may have to be withdrawn. The kind of work to be done at Faridabad is peculiarly suited for the Sappers and Miners and therefore it is right that they should be asked to do it.

3. I am told that the efforts at drawing up plans for the new township have not been very successful. The average engineer knows very little about town planning. It is important that a township near Delhi should be properly planned and in this the help of Dr. Koenigsberger² must be taken. He can give general ideas on the subject which can be worked out by others. The township must be so built as to have open spaces, schools, markets, etc., properly situated to avoid crowding.

4. It is important that before the rains set in, arrangements should be made for planting trees, as otherwise we shall miss a whole year.

5. In this matter the United Council's Committee is taking great interest and every help should be given to them. I am confident that the Army authorities will be very helpful. If we approach the question in the manner indicated above, we shall obtain good results rapidly and this will have a marked effect on improving the morale of displaced persons.

2. Then Director of Housing, Government of India.

17. To Bhimsen Sachar¹

New Delhi

April 17, 1949

My dear Sachar,

I am told that in the distribution of land to the refugees in East Punjab, some people

1. J.N. Collection.

got land, who did not possess it in West Punjab. Now that this mistake has been discovered, the East Punjab Government is trying to push them out of this land.² Naturally they object. I do not know all the facts. But any large scale upsetting of arrangements made of this type might lead to trouble. Communist elements are already fairly strong in East Punjab. All these people who are ejected would be a good field for the Communists to play upon.

As I have said above, I do not know all the facts and cannot therefore offer any advice. But I wanted to draw your Government's attention to this particular aspect of the case. We have to be a little careful not to add to communist elements in this country.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. There was no correct determination of the areas left by the Muslims in East Punjab and that left by the Hindus in West Punjab. In settlement many refugees secured vast landed properties through various influences.

18. To Mohanlal Saksena¹

New Delhi
April 17, 1949

My dear Mohanlal,

Your letter of the 17th April.² I write to you as well as to other Ministries pretty frequently, whenever I learn anything which seems to me to demand attention. The Government of India machine is obviously not meant for the type of work it has had to face during the past year and more. For normal times it is not a bad machine. The R. & R. Ministry is a special emergency Ministry and I have always felt that it should function in an emergency way rather than the Government of India way. The fact that it cannot always do so is not its fault, but rather of finance and the general set-up. Nevertheless I try to hustle things by repeated letters, meetings, etc. You will appreciate that this has nothing personal about it, but it is an attempt to make a complicated machine work more swiftly.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. In his letter Mohanlal wrote that he had written to Rajendra Prasad and Sucheta Kripalani about certain houses built by the Relief Committee for the Government and a sum which had been given as security. He had tried to help Mridula Sarabhai in every possible way.

About Mridula, we all know her very well.³ She is one of our best workers and during the troubles here a year and a half ago she behaved in a perfectly wonderful way. At the same time she is exceedingly irritating and comes in the way of other people's work. This is perfectly true. One has to get the best out of her, which is very good indeed, and not to mind her other methods and approaches.

About Faridabad, the whole question has been considered by the United Council on the basis of R. & R. Ministry's offer to them to take it over.⁴ What this taking over meant, was not quite clear. What you referred to as my orders on the subject have very little to do with the authority of the R. & R. Ministry. What I have suggested is that there should be central direction and that direction should be that of the Government of India and not half of the Government of India and half of the East Punjab Government. Further, I have suggested that the army should send a company of Sappers and Miners to help both in the camp and in the township. I have long been of opinion that the army should be engaged in all these tasks. They are eminently meant for Sappers and Miners. The matter was brought before me not by Mridula but by Lady Nye, a very efficient worker and in some ways, rather like Lady Mountbatten. She did a good job of work in Madras. Then I happened to see Cariappa at the party at my house and we discussed the matter. Mridula did not come into the picture at all, except when later I got a note from her.

Nothing has so far been decided. Tomorrow morning the United Council meets to frame certain proposals which will have to be considered by your Ministry and the East Punjab Government. I might mention that I have spoken to the East Punjab Premier on this subject also.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Mridula Sarabhai stated that the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation was following a policy which was not the policy of the Government of India. She thought that Mohanlal Saksena's work was unsatisfactory and therefore, the Faridabad Camp should be taken over by the Government of India and the army should be asked to run it.
4. See *ante*, item 17.

19. To Mohanlal Saksena¹

New Delhi
April 17, 1949

My dear Mohanlal,

Your letter of the 17th April about the Nagrota Camp.² Mirza Afzal Beg spoke to me about this matter also. I discussed this with the Commander-in-Chief later. Cariappa had no objection to the proposal to remove some people from Nagrota to Rajauri and some other places, though of course he had not given much thought to it. Generally speaking, it would be a good thing for people to be dispersed somewhat, though I rather doubt if the large numbers mentioned by Beg can be removed easily. It might be worthwhile trying it on a smaller scale—say a few thousands for each of these places—10,000 in all.

Naturally if people are removed, they will have to go to some places where the military are present and the burden will fall largely on the military. I do not think that from the organizational side it will be difficult, nor should much expenditure be involved. But it is important that people who go there should go for the sake of some kind of work, whether it is in the fields or otherwise.

It is difficult to give a final opinion, but the matter is worthy of investigation. Dispersing people from big camps has certain advantages and is in general keeping, I take it, with your policy. As for who should run these camps, it would be a good thing if gradually we could hand them over to the Kashmir Government. But perhaps to begin with, we should carry on. Anyhow, the matter should be gone into thoroughly and considered from every other aspect.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. The Nagrota Relief Camp was set up by the Government of India at Jammu in June 1948 for the refugees from Kashmir.

20. To Bhimsen Sachar¹

New Delhi
April 17, 1949

My dear Sachar,

Perhaps you know that there is a refugee camp at Faridabad. Faridabad is in East

1. File No. 29(150)/49-PMS.

Punjab, though it is about fifteen miles from Delhi. It is proposed to build a township near that camp. There has been great delay in this. It is urgent that this matter should be taken up and proceeded with and that something should be done before the rains set in. The problem before us is of properly organizing the present camp as a work centre and at the same time building up a township.

It seems to me that this complicated and urgent problem can hardly be dealt with by the East Punjab Government unaided. Finance of course is being supplied by the Centre.

We have discussed this matter and we feel that the only way to tackle it effectively is to bring the military in, that is, the Sappers and Miners, who would do a good job rapidly. They would not only put the present camp in order but will also prepare for the new township. As Faridabad is near Delhi, this is easy to handle from Delhi.

What exactly the control arrangements should be has not been decided and I think that the Government of India, the East Punjab Government, the United Council for Relief and Welfare, the Health Ministry of the Centre and the Defence people should all be associated with this undertaking. The United Council is agreeable to take up its own share of this work and will provide social and other workers for the purpose. The Health Ministry is particularly interested in housing and planning and have got experts attached to them. The Army comes in because much of the burden would fall upon them.

It may be desirable therefore that a small board be set up in which the East Punjab Government is represented. Essentially, however, the direction for this planning and rehabilitation will have to come from Delhi.

I want you and your Government to consider this matter and agree to the arrangement I am proposing. I am sure that it will not be feasible for effective control to be exercised from East Punjab because of the distance and other difficulties. Even apart from this, if the Army comes in, as I think it should, the seat of control has to be in Delhi, otherwise there will be confusion and delay.

I hope your Government will agree to this. The camp is being taken over on the 18th of this month.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the Governor.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

21. Proposed Arrangements for the Faridabad Camp¹

1. It has already been decided to hand over the camp to the R. & R. Ministry.

(1) It has now been further decided by the R. & R. Ministry in consultation with the UCRW that the organization of the camp should be the charge of the military authorities. The Commander-in-Chief has agreed to this.

(2) The organization of the camp does not merely mean giving food, shelter etc., but also means providing work and training for occupations. The system of giving free rations in camps is being gradually stopped everywhere and is being replaced, as far as possible, by work centres and training centres. This policy has to be pursued at Faridabad Camp also. In this provision for work and training, the military authorities will cooperate with the R. & R. Ministry. The UCRW will give full cooperation in this camp, more especially in regard to social and welfare work.

(3) As far as possible, work to be done in the camp should be done by the inhabitants of the camp.

(4) Temporary structures to be built in the camp should preferably be some kind of mud-huts which are cheaper and cooler and which may be used later for other purposes.

(5) So far as the new township is concerned, it was agreed that it should be constructed on the new site about a mile away from the present camp. It is important that there should be some kind of joint control of the present camp and the building of the new township. Unless there was this joint control, there would be delays and sometimes friction. This joint control can only be the control essentially of the Government of India.

(6) In the building of the new township full advantage should be taken of military help, more especially of Sappers and Miners, though much of the actual building operations will be done by other authorities.

2. Faridabad is situated in East Punjab although it is not far from Delhi. Any steps taken, therefore, must be decided after full agreement with the East Punjab Government. For a number of reasons, some of which are given below, it appeared essential that the control and organization of the new township should be essentially under the Government of India in cooperation with the East Punjab Government. This of course, in no way, alters the constitutional position of Faridabad as a part of East Punjab and will only be a temporary arrangement to expedite the building

1. Note on Faridabad Camp, 18 April 1949. Cabinet Secretariat Papers.

of the new township as efficiently as possible and thus to bring relief to the refugee problem.

3. The main reasons for Central Government control of these operations are:-

(1) The necessity for integration as between the old camp and the new township. This required single control.

(2) The use of the Defence Services. These Services can only function adequately under the Central Government's control.

(3) In the actual work of building the new township every effort should be made to use the services of the residents of the old camp. This will not only provide gainful employment to them but will give them a personal interest in the new township and will thus help in producing a good psychological atmosphere. The training of people for new occupations which would help in building the new township will also have to be integrated for the two places.

(4) Faridabad is near Delhi and it is much easier to control developments there from Delhi than from Jullundur or Simla.

(5) The element of time is important as much will have to be done before the monsoon. It is not possible to do all this in this short time unless there is military help and there is constant cooperation between the various parties concerned and directions from a nearby place like Delhi.

4. It has been proposed that a Board be formed in which there should be representatives of the Ministry of R. & R., of the Ministry of Health and East Punjab Government and the United Council for Relief and Welfare. This Board will be a kind of Development Board for the new township of Faridabad; it will also have an advisory capacity for the temporary camp. A representative of the Defence Services should be a coopted member of the Board for the purpose of coordination. The exact number of members of this Board can be determined later, though the number seven was suggested. The presence of representatives of the East Punjab Government will bring about coordination between the Centre and East Punjab Government. It must be understood, however, that the main direction will necessarily come from the Central Government at Delhi functioning through the Ministry of R. & R. and the proposed Development Board which will be answerable to the Ministry of R. & R.

5. The Ministry of R. & R. was asked to draw up a full scheme, filling in the details and discuss this matter with the East Punjab Government and come to an arrangement as outlined above. Meanwhile the old camp should be taken charge of and worked on the lines suggested above.

22. To Amrit Kaur¹

New Delhi
April 18, 1949

My dear Amrit,

The R. & R. Ministry intended constructing some houses for the refugees. To begin with, for lack of material, they decided to erect one-roomed houses and to add another room later. This had to be done quickly so as to get the people away from the tents. I understand that your Ministry disapproved of this on the ground of your not permitting one-roomed houses or tenements. Of course you are right and that is the Cabinet decision. But for relief purposes, we have often to erect temporary shelter to replace the tents which are worse. If we follow the rules strictly, we are held up and refugees suffer also. I would suggest your reconsidering this matter, making it perfectly clear, however, that those one-roomed houses will be made two-roomed houses as soon as materials permit.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.

23. To John Matthai¹

New Delhi
April 18, 1949

My dear Matthai,

Our Relief Ministry is trying hard to stop doles or pure relief and to convert their camps into work centres. This transfer is a little difficult. In any event there is going to be a considerable saving on relief expenditure. I understand this will amount to Rs. 15,000/- a day in Delhi alone. Relief Ministry wants to utilize this money for rehabilitation. I think that is a very legitimate way of using this money. Also they want to give some amenities to the refugees, after stopping these free rations. This also seems to be necessary from the psychological and practical points of view. I should imagine that there is no difficulty in utilizing their relief expenditure for this purpose, more especially, rehabilitation, which includes training etc. Possibly the strict rules of the Finance Ministry may come in the way. I hope you will kindly

1. J.N. Collection.

look into this matter. We want to make this shift-over from relief to rehabilitation as quick and as painless as possible. If there is delay in money being spent, there would be a gap period which must upset the whole scheme. It is understood of course that no further demand for money is being made for this purpose. The question is that the money spent on relief be utilized for rehabilitation.

Another question has arisen in regard to the Relief Ministry. We have been laying great stress on work centres and the training of technical personnel for these work centres. We have specially asked Dey, who has done such a good job of work at Kurukshetra and Nilokheri, to train these technical personnel. This training consists of giving a three months course or a little more, to selective persons, who already know something about it. It has been proposed that these persons should give an undertaking to serve us for three years and we consequently engage them for three years. The period may be lesser. Now I understand that the Finance Ministry has pointed out that recruitment can only be made through the Federal Public Service Commission. Probably they are strictly right because three years come into the picture. But practically speaking this would not only delay matters but is impractical. This training, in order to be really satisfactory, must be left entirely to Dey, the man in charge. There is a strong personal element about it. He has made a success of his work thus far, by choosing suitable persons and I think the only way to proceed is to give him a free hand to choose his personnel whom he will train. They may, if necessary, be called temporary employees. They are certainly not permanent in any sense, although they might be employed for more than a year. I hope some way out will be found for this, otherwise this business of rapidly training people for our work centres will fade away. We have already got sufficient experience of Dey and that has justified us in trusting him giving some free scope. I doubt very much if the Federal Public Service Commission is a suitable body for choosing people for this particular temporary occupation. Even if they were suitable, they would take too long a time. Could you kindly look into this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

24. Need for All to Work Together¹

On the eve of my departure,² undertaking a long journey and going out of the country, I should like to say a few words to the refugees or the displaced persons

1. Statement to the press, New Delhi, 19 April 1949. *The Hindustan Times*, 20 April 1949.
2. Nehru was leaving for London to attend the Dominion Prime Ministers' Conference which began on 21 April 1949.

in India. Their lot has been a hard one and no problem has given us more anxiety than the problem of rehabilitating them. The problem was colossal and unique and if we failed to solve it with rapidity, it was not due to any lack of effort, though it may have been due to our inexperience and the lack of resources at our command. In any event that is a vital and urgent problem for all of us. So far as the Government is concerned, it is anxious and eager to do everything possible to rehabilitate these brothers and sisters of ours. But it must be realized that, in the nature of things, this vast problem cannot be settled completely in a short space of time. It cannot be settled at all satisfactorily unless there is every effort and every cooperation between the Government, the various other agencies and the displaced persons themselves. Indeed, it is the attitude and the cooperation of these displaced persons that will make all the difference. I trust therefore, that there will be this cooperation and an understanding by all of us of each other's difficulties. It does little good for us to blame each other instead of applying ourselves to the big task before us.

Daily I have met many of these displaced persons who have come to me for relief or solace. Sometimes I have been able to help them a little, sometimes not. I shall be away now for some weeks and I shall not see them, but I wish to assure them that I shall be thinking of them and this great problem. I know that my colleagues here are applying themselves with all their energy to the solution of this problem.

The biggest handicap for us has been the delay in coming to an agreement about evacuee property. Indeed, I would say that this is the biggest problem between India and Pakistan and if this was removed, other problems would gradually find their places. I think we can truthfully say that we have tried our best to get an agreement in regard to evacuee property and the delay is none of our making. It is true that it is not an easy problem to tackle. Nevertheless, we have to do it. We have made some progress and I hope that in future more satisfactory results will follow. In any event we shall continue to try out utmost to find an agreement on this vital issue affecting so many people. We have already taken some steps towards helping those who have come here and those who have property in Pakistan.

I am going away to face big issues, which may well affect the future of our country and Asia. But while I may be far away, I shall be constantly thinking of our problems at home and among them, very specially, about this refugee problem.

LETTERS TO PREMIERS OF PROVINCES

New Delhi

9 March 1949

My dear Premier,

I am exceedingly sorry for the delay in sending you my fortnightly letter. Much has happened in the past fortnight or three weeks on which I would have liked to write to you. But the very fact of these events taking place one after the other has come in the way of my writing.

2. An event which came all too suddenly and rather overwhelmed us was the death of Shrimati Sarojini Naidu.² Her passing away has been a blow to us personally and to our cause. It is proposed to issue an appeal soon for a memorial for her in the shape of a children's hospital in Allahabad. I hope that this will meet with adequate response.

3. Today has been the day fixed by some misguided persons for some kind of a general strike on the railways and some other concerns. We are not frightened of strikes, but this is a distressing symptom in India. I do not mean the strike so much, but the whole background of violence and sabotage. A horrible example of this took place in Calcutta, when the Dum Dum Airfield and many other places were suddenly attacked and people killed.³ Four persons or more, including Englishmen, were hurled into a blazing furnace. Anything more horrible is difficult to imagine. It is obvious that this kind of thing does grave injury to the cause of labour. A particularly distressing feature was the racial element in it. Fortunately this is not in evidence in India as a whole.

4. This incident has made us more wary even than we were before. It is quite clear that we cannot take any risks and cannot allow a few malevolent individuals to hold up the community.

5. About two weeks ago, another sad death occurred—that of Dr. Syud Hossain,⁴ our Ambassador in Egypt. He died suddenly. He had done very good work in Egypt and the Middle East generally and established a position for himself and for India during the brief period of his stay in Cairo. We knew his old record as a patriot and as a man of ability. He fully justified this record and there was sorrow at his death not only in India but in Egypt also and Government of Egypt gave him a State military funeral.

1. These letters in this section have also been printed in G. Parthasarathi (edited), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 1 (New Delhi, 1985), pp. 246-297.

2. (1879-1949); poet and a prominent Congress leader; President of the Congress, 1925; Governor of the United Provinces, 1947-1949; died on 2 March 1949.

3. See Section 1, item 4, fn. 4.

4. On 25 February 1949.

6. You know how Government have dealt with the Akali situation. For months and months both the Central Government and the East Punjab Government allowed matters to drift because we were averse to taking any steps against the Sikhs. Master Tara Singh and some of his colleagues went on with speeches and declarations which were violent and which invited trouble. Ultimately, Government took action and prevented the Akali Conference in Delhi. Later Master Tara Singh was arrested.⁵ Fortunately the situation was fully under control and the action taken by Government has had a satisfactory result.

7. I should like to draw again your very special attention to the food problem. I have written to you about this repeatedly. I want to emphasize that it is our firm policy now to cover the deficit in foodstuffs within two years at the latest. On no account can we permit this business of importing food from outside to continue beyond two years from now. That means a definite plan at the Centre and in the Provinces. That means that Plan should show results every six months or so, so that there is a progressive lessening of the deficit. That means the fullest cooperation between the Provinces and the Centre. Our Food and Agriculture Ministries are addressing you separately on this issue and are also calling some conference of Secretaries. We propose to take some other steps also of which information will be sent to you.⁶

8. We have to concentrate:

- (i) On speedy and effective procurement,
- (ii) On additional production of foodgrains,
- (iii) On production of other articles of foodstuffs such as sweet potato, banana, tapioca, etc.,
- (iv) On a certain change in our food habits so that less of wheat and rice may be consumed and might give place to other kinds of food.

9. The cooperation of the Provinces with the Centre is absolutely essential. There is ground for thinking that there has not been that full cooperation, whether in the matter of procurement or other matters. Indeed there is a tendency for some Provinces to go their own way, no doubt for adequate reasons which they can advance. But in the present crisis, no reason can be adequate for a Province to go its own way and against the general food policy of the Centre.

10. I might inform you that the expert delegation from the International Bank⁷

5. See Section 3, sub-section 2, item 1, fn.5.

6. The Government of India directed the Provincial Governments to enforce more strictly orders relating to food control and rationing. It insisted upon provincial governments taking steps for local procurement of foodgrains and less stress on imports.

7. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (I.B.R.D.) was founded in 1944 at the Bretton Woods Conference to provide long-term funds for investment in productive ventures.

which has been touring the country came and reported to us privately.⁸ During their first visit to Delhi, they were agreeably impressed with what was being done at the Centre in regard to our various schemes and plans. When they visited the Provinces, they were pleased with many things that they saw there and not so pleased with some other things that they saw. Above all, they informed us that there was this dangerous tendency for Provinces not to cooperate with the Centre in vital matters. If this continued, then all schemes will be rather ineffective. They laid the greatest stress on this and I pass on their views to you. These views are objective views of disinterested parties and should have weight with you.

11. It is my firm conviction that we are on the upgrade now and the next few months and years will show a definite advance on the economic plane. But that conviction is based on a major premise, namely the fullest cooperation with the Provinces. For that we have to rely upon you. The food policy must necessarily be uniform all over India. Otherwise it will fail or will only succeed partially.

12. This applies not only to food policy but to other things also. The tendency for different parts of the country to pull in different directions will surely come in the way of any effective and successful working of our plans. If we could but concentrate on a few important matters during the next two years, I have no doubt that we would have laid the foundations of great progress all over India. I would beg of you, therefore, to impress upon your Government the absolute necessity of cooperation with the Centre.

13. A number of Provinces have introduced a Sales Tax. It is rather doubtful how far these bills were strictly *intra vires* of the Provincial Legislatures. Apart from this question, difficulties arise because of the variety of this legislation and because of its overlapping character.⁹ It has become necessary that there should be uniformity in this and our Home Ministry will take some steps to this end and consult you about it.¹⁰

14. The U.N. Commission on Kashmir is continuing its activities, and are having conferences with our officers. I shall not write much about this now. But I would like to draw your attention to a new development in Pakistan in regard to Kashmir. In the press and statements it is made out that a plebiscite is not necessary. This indicates that Pakistan has cold feet about a plebiscite. I do not myself know if

8. The delegation headed by A.S.G. Hoar, Assistant Loan Director, came to India on 24 January 1949. During its tour of six weeks in February-March 1949, the delegation examined the technical and financial soundness of development projects in the country, and assessed the general economic conditions in order to formulate possible lines of assistance to the Indian development programme.

9. On 2 March 1949, the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry urged the Central Government to rationalize the sales tax as anomalies existed in its levy in different provinces.

10. It was only in 1956 that the Centre decided to impose the sales tax on goods in transit, instead of the States imposing it.

ultimately there will be a plebiscite because there are many difficulties in the way. But it is interesting to note the growing fear of the plebiscite on the Pakistan side. We have in any event to prepare for it.

15. You may have read in the papers about a so-called conference on Burma in New Delhi.¹¹ This was rather an exaggerated way of putting it and our press played it up unnecessarily. It is a fact that we are tremendously interested in Burma. Anything that may happen in Burma will be of the deepest concern to India, apart from its effect on a vast Indian population in Burma. We took advantage of the presence here of the U.K. Trade Minister¹² and the Australian Foreign Minister¹³ to have some informal talks on Burma. As a result of these talks we suggested some kind of mediation to the Burmese Government. We felt that the only effective way of dealing with the situation was to put an end to the civil strife that was going on. We had no desire to interfere and in fact we think that Thakin Nu's Government has offered very fair proposals to the Karens.¹⁴ We would have supported the Government proposals. Thakin Nu, however, has felt that perhaps this is not the best time to offer mediation. We are, therefore, not taking any step for the present and we shall await any further approach from the Burmese Government. We do not intend to, and indeed we cannot, take any step there without the fullest concurrence of the Burmese Government. Meanwhile, the situation is not at all satisfactory and in some ways has deteriorated. The Communists, whose revolt had been crushed, are now gradually creeping back as some kind of allies of the Karens, although the Karens have really nothing to do with the Communists. But civil strife brings strange bedfellows together.

16. We talk of the Communists in India and in Burma but it must be remembered that we are hardly dealing with the economic doctrine of communism. We are dealing with active revolts, and what is more, rather brutal and bloody revolts, where individual killing is indulged in. In Burma the economic situation is very bad and the rice exports will probably be affected.

17. The Indonesian question still is in the melting pot. The Dutch Government have made certain proposals which *prima facie* have an appearance of fairness.¹⁵ But on closer examination they reveal themselves as clever manoeuvring not only to put aside completely the Delhi Conference but also to bypass the Security

11. See Section 5, item 5, fn. 3.

12. Arthur George Bottomley.

13. H.V. Evatt.

14. On 1 February Thakin Nu said that his Government was prepared to concede to the Karens a separate state within the Union of Burma. On 27 February, he appealed for cessation of hostilities and restoration of law and order so that general elections could be held. But the talks between the Karens and the Government broke down in April 1949 as the Karens demanded restoration of areas under their control during the truce period.

15. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 9, pp.308-309.

Council. That would be dangerous from the Indonesian point of view and, therefore, this Dutch manoeuvre has to be resisted. Some of the great powers are far too anxious to find some method of helping the Dutch to save their face as well as their positions. Still I hope that the Security Council will take up a strong attitude and insist on its directive being carried out.

18. In China, there is nothing to be said except that the Nationalist Government progressively deteriorates, and it is only a question of time when a Communist Government will be effectively controlling the Government of at least half of China. There will be very little to stop them from the rest of China. What the nature of this Communist or Communist controlled Government will be, remains to be seen.

19. Meanwhile India, with all her problems and difficulties, is the only State in all these vast regions of Eastern, South Eastern and Western Asia which can be looked upon not only as a firmly established State but also one that is advancing towards greater strength both political and economic. Our budget has been criticized.¹⁶ But leaving out the minor criticisms, it is a budget showing strength. It is a cautious budget. We have taken the risk of perhaps displeasing some people in order that we might not take any greater risks now and go ahead more rapidly in the future. After all that has happened during the past year, the budget may well be said to show a fundamental soundness and stability in India. I have little doubt that the next year will see progress in many sectors of our national life and economy. There is a vitality in India which must have its way. Foreigners who have come here either for the first time or after an year or so, are astonished at the change for the better that they see here. Even the hardheaded businessmen of the International Bank told me of their surprise at the enthusiasm and high-class ability that they came across. All these foreigners go back with the conviction that India is a great State rapidly marching forward both politically and economically. In the world India's new position is well recognized.

20. As you know, we have become deficit in cotton as a result of partition.¹⁷ This shortage has been accentuated by the recent damage to the crops by drought and floods in various areas. The mills are already finding it difficult to procure cotton within the ceiling prices fixed. I understand that at the Conference which the Minister for Industry and Supply had with the Provincial representatives in December, it was agreed that Provincial Governments should requisition cotton

16. The Union budget presented to Parliament on 28 February 1949 was criticized for abolition of the capital gains tax for industry, income tax for industry, income tax concessions, enhanced rate of duties on commodities like sugar and petrol and low priority to the agricultural sector. See Section 1, sub-section 1, item 4, fn.11.

17. As against the requirement by the textile mills of 4 million bales of cotton, India after partition was producing only 3 million bales. Before the Second World War, undivided India was producing 5 to 6 million bales of cotton, though the production had come down to 4.2 million during war time.

for the mills in their areas whenever necessary. The mills, however, still complain that they have not received substantial assistance in this matter. I understand that while some Provinces and States have promulgated a Licensing Order meant to prevent cotton from getting into the hands of speculators and hoarders, others have not done so. I shall be glad if the Provincial Governments would give careful consideration to the question of maintaining cotton supplies to mills in order to relieve our shortage of cloth.

21. I go back to what I said at the beginning of this letter. This is about the impression of the International Bank Mission after their tour of India. The leader of that Mission expressed their great appreciation of the way some Provincial Governments had prepared themselves for their talks with them. They were impressed with our engineers and with the general enthusiasm they saw. But they expressed their distress at the way some Provincial Governments were trying to function entirely independently of the Centre in regard to development projects. Some of them seem to be unaware of the dollar problem and some tried to approach the International Bank independently. It was pointed out to us that this kind of separate approaches and separate working out of schemes without reference to the Centre would lead to great difficulties and would have an inevitable reaction on provincial financial resources and the availability of the necessary raw materials as well as of technical personnel. The leader of the Mission told us that the Centre must exercise, more vigorously, control over the overall development of the country. Another point that was mentioned to us was the preference shown for American capital equipment even though this was available from the United Kingdom. In the latter case, of course, dollars would not be needed. It was thought that because of earlier delivery, the U.S. should be preferred. But when the equipment actually arrived, work on site was not ready to receive it. This showed a lack of coordination and a lack of planning.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

II

New Delhi
1st April 1949

My dear Premier,

My last letter to you was sent on the 9th March, later than usual. I have skipped a fortnight and have now come back to the beginning of the month.

2. While we are naturally concerned with our domestic problems, developments in the international field are becoming more and more important for us. The whole situation in Eastern and South Eastern Asia is in a state of flux.

3. The issue of India and the Commonwealth has also to be faced squarely in the near future and, as you must know, I am going to London to attend the Dominion Prime Ministers' Conference which begins on the 21st April.¹ The position in Burma has deteriorated and there appears to be no clear way of dealing with it or of our giving any help to ensure stability. The Indonesian question drags on its weary course in the Security Council and elsewhere.² So does the Kashmir issue before the United Nations Commission.³

4. From a world point of view, probably the most important event is the success of the Communist armies in China. Undoubtedly this is affecting, and will affect more and more in the future, not only the entire position in Asia but in the world. For us in India, it is of the utmost importance.

5. It is clear that there is no force left in China which can effectively check the advance of the Communist armies. These armies are sitting now on the banks of the Yangtse and can advance just when they like. The Nationalist Government has been in a process of disintegration and are really in no position to insist on anything. Terms of peace, therefore, are practically terms of surrender.⁴ At the most some minor points here and there might be safeguarded. It is to the advantage of the Communists in China to get some legal settlement through a peace treaty. But whether this advantage is outweighed in their eyes by other factors or not is not clear.

6. In any event, what is likely to happen is a consolidation of the Communist regime in about two-thirds of China and the advance of the Communist forces towards the South. Within a few months they should occupy the whole of China. It is possible that a splinter government might be formed in Canton, to oppose the Communists. But this is hardly likely to achieve anything. We may take it therefore that the whole of China will be under the control of the Chinese Communists within a few months.

7. The question then arises as to whether the revolutionary urge to advance will be satisfied and whether the new Communist-dominated Government will be

1. From 21 to 28 April 1949.

2. On 23 March, the Security Council called upon the Dutch to implement the resolution of 28 January. It also directed the U.N. Commission to persuade the Republican leaders to attend the round table conference in The Hague. The Dutch offer to hold talks was accepted by the Republicans on 2 April.

3. The U.N. Commission was negotiating a truce proposal with India and Pakistan. See *Selected Works* (Second Series) Vol. 9, pp. 219-224.

4. After the talks between the Kuomintang and the Communists at Beijing had broken down, Mao Zedong, on 21 April, ordered the Communist armies to make the final attack throughout the country.

chiefly occupied in dealing with internal problems, or whether that urge will continue somewhat and affect the situation in Tibet, Indo-China and Siam. To some extent these neighbouring countries are bound to be affected. Tibet is a difficult country for any outside force to enter. But the internal economy of Tibet is very primitive. On the one hand, there are religious heads, the Lamas who are also the feudal chiefs, on the other hand, there are the people who are more or less serfs. Such a situation always has a certain explosive character unless economic changes take place. The success of communism in China may apply as a spark to this explosive situation in Tibet. This may not take place suddenly or quickly, but the general tendency would be there.

8. In Sinkiang Province of China, Soviet influence is already considerable and the Soviets have obtained a privileged position by treaty with the Nationalist China.⁵ Sinkiang touches upon the Kashmir frontier and Afghanistan.

9. In Indo-China, the French Government have totally failed to defeat the Viet Nam forces. The Viet Minh represents a nationalist movement with fairly strong communist leanings. The Chinese Communists will no doubt fully sympathize with it. The French, having failed during the past two or three years, are certainly not likely to make good now⁶ and the victory of Chinese communism will make their position much worse. There can be little doubt that the French will have to withdraw from Indo-China and some kind of a Government will be established there which would be friendly to Communist China.

10. In Siam, there has been continuous manoeuvring at the top and palace revolutions.⁷ Behind this, however, there are deeper causes of unrest and the present Government can hardly be called stable. Events in China will no doubt encourage the anti-Government people in Siam, both nationalist and Communist, and it is quite possible that the Government may fall and give place to another which represents radical elements and Communists. It must be remembered that in Siam agrarian conditions are bad and the Government has largely represented big landlord elements. It is easy therefore for a movement against them to be built up.

5. In 1939, the Sino-Soviet treaty was signed for economic collaboration in Sinkiang for ten years, giving the Soviets exclusive rights to operate a Sino-Soviet airline, set up and manage an aeronautical factory and explore oilfields and uranium and other mines. This treaty was not renewed in 1949.
6. To counter the Viet Minh Government set up by Ho Chi Minh, the French signed an agreement on 8 March 1949 with Bao-Dai, ex-emperor of Annam and recognized the unity and independence of Vietnam within the framework of the French Union.
7. In 1935, Marshall Luang Phibun Songgram as the Regent of King Ananda Mahidol, supported the Japanese. In 1946, Mahidol was assassinated and Nai Pridi Phanomyong, a pro-British politician, became the Regent. In 1947, Marshall Phibun Songgram seized power in a military coup and formed a coalition government. Thereafter Pridi Phanomyong tried unsuccessfully to oust Songgram in October 1948 and March 1949.

11. In Burma, as I have said above, the situation is even worse than it was and there appears no hope of the return of security and stability. There is no obvious possibility of another Government which can control the situation effectively. At the same time the present Government is hardly in a position to do so. Therefore, conflict continues and economic conditions go from bad to worse. Again, in Burma as elsewhere, the victory of the Chinese Communists and their approach to the Burmese border will make a difference.

12. The policy of some of the Western Powers has been generally to support the more conservative governments in South East Asia. This policy has failed. In China, even big scale support by the U.S.A. has not succeeded in making any difference. Indeed, psychologically speaking, it has been a definite disadvantage. People in China have felt that the Chinese Government was becoming a stooge of foreign powers and have turned away from it. It may be said that the victory of the Communists in China is due less to their inherent strength than to the disintegration of the Nationalist Government and its exceeding unpopularity with all classes of people. It could not learn the lesson in time and so it is passing into history.

13. To a much smaller extent, that policy is failing in other parts of South East Asia. It is becoming impossible for conservatives, landlord and like elements to control the situation in any country even with foreign help. Foreign help discredits them even more in the eyes of their people.

14. The result of all this would appear to be that Communist-dominated governments are likely to be formed over a great part of Central, Eastern and South East Asia, and that is a very large part of the earth's surface. It is again a problem how far these Governments will be actuated by nationalist considerations. Will they function like Yugoslavia,⁸ that is to say, will their policy generally, though Communist, be governed by nationalist considerations also or will this policy be entirely subordinated to Soviet policy? In any event, probably in foreign affairs they will support the Soviet policy. They may not go the whole hog in case of war.

15. All this poses numerous problems to us in India. Directly we are not likely to be affected by these changes and there is no great fear of large-scale infiltration across our frontiers or like trouble. I feel that the apprehension about actual trouble on our frontiers is exaggerated, though of course we should be on our guard against it. The real difference will be two-fold:

(i) continuous tension,

(ii) the raising of Communist morale in India.

That morale is relatively low at the present moment. The Communists in India have, even from the communist point of view, adopted a very wrong course. They have gone in for terrorist activities and sabotage and raised a volume of feeling

8. In November 1945, Marshal Tito's Government had declared a Yugoslav People's Republic and asserted its independence of the Soviet Union.

against them in India. It is manifest that they cannot succeed by these methods in making much difference to the Indian scene, though they can create trouble. They have isolated themselves. Even in the Communist Party in India, there has been much grumbling at this terrorist policy and some prominent Communists are said to have left the Party or been purged.⁹ All this shows that the Communist leadership in India has overbalanced itself by its successive violence and wrong tactics and their morale at present is not high. Events in China and elsewhere, however, bolster up this morale to some extent and economic conditions help.

16. This leads us to a consideration of the general economic position in these countries of Asia. Undoubtedly the success of the Communists has been due to primitive types of agrarian economy and the only way to deal with such a situation is to make rapid changes in this agrarian economy. These changes can be either towards peasant proprietorship or to some socialized system in land. Which of these courses is more suitable would depend on each individual country. If there is no peasant proprietorship and the masses of agriculturists are in the nature of serfs, then the change-over to socialist economy might be more rapid.

17. The Western Powers are gradually coming to realize that their policy in regard to Asian countries has not been a happy one. Their support of reactionary regimes has not helped those regimes to continue and has merely made those powers more unpopular in Asia. They are now thinking hard as to what they should do to change this policy. Probably it is too late for them to do anything very effective in this matter, before the changes they fear come about.

18. In Indonesia, the conflict of two policies is very evident. On the one hand, the Western Powers are anxious to win the goodwill of nationalism in Indonesia, and that means the Indonesian Republic, for the alternative means their losing such little influence as they possess in Asia. On the other hand, their European commitments induce them to build up a West European front, Atlantic Pact, etc., which include the Netherlands Government. It includes, in other words, certain colonial powers like the Netherlands and France, and it becomes the interest of the Western Group to build up the strength of these colonial powers. To some extent this can be done by the exploitation of colonial territories by those colonial powers. The Congo, for instance, is a preserve of Belgium, and is a very rich preserve, containing probably the largest deposits of uranium minerals which are so necessary for atomic energy. Thus, from the point of view of consolidating their position in Western Europe, some powers have to go slowly in regard to the Netherlands and do not wish to weaken the Netherlands. From the point of view of their position in Asia, they wish to support the Indonesian Republic. There is this inherent conflict and hence their vacillating policy.

9. In December 1948, P.C. Joshi, General Secretary of the Party till February 1948, was suspended.

19. The fact is that in the larger world context, it is far more important, even from their point of view, to support nationalist and progressive elements in Asia and more particularly not to encourage any colonial exploitation in Asia. This will count for far more in the end than smaller gains in Western Europe.

20. For India, all these developments and possibilities pose new questions or old questions in a new garb. We cannot associate ourselves in any way with a policy in favour of colonial exploitation. This, not only because it would be opposed to all that we have stood for, but also because in the present context it would be a most unwise and harmful policy, and is destined to fail. Hence our very special interest in Indonesia. Also we have to realize that economic reform is essential in order to meet the new situation. We in India, or some of us, are apt to think in rather static terms, not realizing that big changes are afoot and that we shall be affected by them. Most of our people are mostly concerned with the next elections which may take place about the end of 1950 or perhaps early in 1951.¹⁰ No doubt these elections may well take place, but much will happen before they take place. It is better for us to think of all that is happening now and will happen in the course of the next year or two, than to lose ourselves in thoughts of the election. Ultimately India's strength and stability will depend upon her economic position and to the extent that we improve the standard of the masses. That is the vital issue before us.

21. There is undoubtedly a great deal of activity going on all over India, both in the Centre and in the Provinces, to develop our resources and innumerable schemes are in various stages of development. I have no doubt that our progress is going to be fairly rapid in the future. Nevertheless, I have a feeling that there is a certain lack of coordination in these various efforts and what is necessary is more planning. I hope that in the months to come we shall give intensive thought to this business of planning.

22. The question of India's place in the Commonwealth, which is coming up for discussion soon in London, must be viewed in this larger context of Asian and world developments. I think that the policy we adopted six months or more ago was a right policy and we should hold on to it. This policy was to retain our complete independence as a Republic in regard to internal and external affairs, and at the same time to associate ourselves with the Commonwealth for purpose of consultation and cooperation. There is a desire on all sides for some way out to be found for this to take place. But certain difficulties have arisen. It may be that we shall get over them or the matter may be left undecided for some more time. There are undoubtedly considerable advantages for us to remain in the Commonwealth, while maintaining our complete independence. But there are disadvantages for us to become tied up or committed to any policies which may come in our way in the future and which may be opposed to our general approach. We want to be friendly and cooperative with the nations of the West but not at

10. The first general elections took place in March 1952.

the cost of hostility to others. We feel that such a position will enable us not only to serve our own interests but those of Asia and of world peace much more effectively. If India can help even to a small extent in averting a world war, she will have done a great service to the world.

23. Generally speaking, our relations with Pakistan are better. But incidents continue to happen which come in the way of real understanding. The East Bengal Government has started a vendetta against the Gandhi Ashram in Noakhali and arrested some of the workers left there by Gandhiji.¹¹ They have made wild charges against them, which we cannot bring ourselves to believe. We cannot say much about Pakistani nationals but we have a right to speak up for Indian nationals who have been working there. We have asked for a full enquiry into the allegations made.

24. In the Frontier Province conditions appear to worsen. You may have seen the statement I made regarding the Frontier Province communique about the Red Shirts and India helping them.¹² It was after considerable thought that I made that statement, as I was afraid that my saying anything about the Red Shirts might lead to further suffering for them and more misunderstanding all round. But, having kept myself in check for over a year, I felt the time had come when I should say something. We have had no dealings with the Red Shirts since the partition, but we have undoubtedly felt deeply for them and for their brave leaders who were our comrades-in-arms for so many years in the struggle for India's freedom.

25. The relations of Pakistan with Afghanistan have deteriorated very greatly.¹³ The chief dispute between them is in regard to the Tribal Areas. A statement on behalf of Pakistan that the Tribal Areas were integral parts of Pakistan, has led to vigorous protest from Afghanistan.¹⁴ There has apparently been bombing of these areas by the Pakistan Air Force.¹⁵ Our relations with Afghanistan are good.

26. We have summoned some of our Ambassadors abroad to confer with us. Sardar Panikkar,¹⁶ our Ambassador in Nanking, is here. Our High Commissioner in London¹⁷ has also just arrived and our Ambassador in Moscow, Vijayalakshmi Pandit, is due here soon. From here she will go to her new post in Washington. Shri Dhirajlal Desai, our Minister at Berne in Switzerland, has also paid a visit

11. See Section 5, item 7, fn.3.

12. See Section 5, item 6.

13. See Section 5, item 6, fn.6.

14. On 24 March, the Afghanistan Government criticized the Pakistan Governor-General's reference to the Tribal Areas as part of Pakistan as being contrary to all the pledges given by Jinnah in 1948 and also against the British Government's declaration of 3 June 1947.

15. Pakistan denied on 12 March that its military aircraft had bombed the Tribal Areas in Waziristan.

16. K.M. Panikkar.

17. V.K. Krishna Menon.

to us to discuss various matters. There has been a great deal of speculation about these visits as well as about other matters. There is really nothing to speculate about and it is not India's way to carry on secret diplomacy. We cannot shout out everything from the housetops, but no essential step is taken or can be taken behind the backs of the people. It is of great help to confer with our Ambassadors to understand a fast changing situation. A nation's foreign policy is based on certain principles and objectives, but is at the same time very largely influenced by day to day happenings. Otherwise it becomes purely academic and unreal.

27. You will have noticed that our Industry and Supply Ministry has introduced legislation in the central control of certain industries.¹⁸ We feel that this is necessary from the point of view of planning and coordination and the proper use of our resources. I propose to make a statement in Parliament soon on the subject of participation of foreign capital in India.¹⁹ Even before knowing what this is, some newspapers have started shouting against it. It amazes me how irresponsibly some of our newspapers function. This statement on foreign capital will be in line with the policy we have frequently declared. We wish to encourage foreign capital in India, subject always to the vital consideration of our not creating any vested interests here which might come in our way, and subject always to the primary consideration of advancing India's interests.

28. It has been decided also to appoint a Fiscal Commission.²⁰

29. I have a feeling, and I think it is justified by various events, that the industrial situation in India is on the mend and that the psychology of the country in this matter is definitely favourable now. I think we shall go ahead fairly fast, provided we do not fritter away our energies over minor matters and petty conflicts. We are playing for high stakes in this country and the world and we dare not do so in a small and petty way.

30. The food situation requires constant care and I am glad to notice a fixed determination all round to make India self-sufficient in regard to food in the course of the next two years. Indeed we have no choice about this for if we do not do so and war or other calamities supervene, then we face disaster. Again I would remind you that we must concentrate:

- (i) on procurement,
- (ii) on intensive cultivation so as to increase the yield per acre, and
- (iii) schemes which yield rapid results.

31. I feel that, in some provinces at least, enough has not been done in regard to procurement and local conditions are considered more important than all-India ones. I trust that every province will realize that in this matter it is only all-India considerations that must prevail and that there must be uniformity in procedure

18. On 23 March 1949.

19. See Section 1, sub-section 3, item 4.

20. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 9, p.59.

and practice all over India. I should like to congratulate Bombay Province on their procurement.

32. We have invited Lord Boyd Orr, who used to be the Chairman of the F.A.O., to visit India soon to advise us about our food problems. He is a great expert and enthusiastic about helping India in this matter. We may also get some other experts from abroad. But essentially the responsibility is ours and what is necessary is for us to throw all our energy into this business. This means not only governmental energy but Congress energy. We can change the whole atmosphere of the country if we could concentrate on these constructive activities.

33. In regard to relief and rehabilitation, and more especially the latter, it seems to me that we should think in terms of setting up some autonomous boards in each province to deal with problems of rehabilitation. These boards should be small and should consist of experts. The work should be taken out of the day-to-day activities of Government and dealt with as non-political activity on an expert level. Such boards could be given larger financial powers so that they can exercise their initiative. Of course they would be under the supervision and control of the Governments to whom they will report from time to time. Provinces must remember that the Centre's resources are limited and it is quite impossible for us, even with the best will in the world, to supply unlimited funds.

34. I should like to draw your attention to one more point. There has been a tendency, even among Congressmen and our friends, to talk a great deal about the corruption and incompetence of Governments. Well, I have little doubt that there is corruption, and there is incompetence and there is wastage. We are trying hard to combat all these and I think we are succeeding, though slowly. It seems to me, however, that this business of condemnation is very much overdone. I think we can compare favourably with most countries. Continuous condemnation actually leads to a feeling of lethargy and produces the very atmosphere in which corruption etc., flourish. There is a tendency to repeat every rumour without any attempt to verify it and so all kinds of vague and unjustified allegations float about from person to person. No responsible individual should allow himself to be a party to this kind of thing which is highly injurious to the nation. Let us by all means fight every evil, but let us also recognize that all is not evil and there is plenty of good and that in fact we are progressing pretty well. I do believe this and have reasons for doing so. Condemnation of our services is also not only unjustified but unwise. We should take action against malefactors but not condemn whole groups. We have inherited this from the past, but in the present context it has little place and only demoralizes the services, from whom we expect good work.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

III

New Delhi
16 April 1949

My dear Premier,

I am writing this letter to you on the eve of my departure for England for the Conference of Dominion Prime Ministers. I shall be away for a little over two weeks. I hope to return in time for the Governors' Conference which is fixed for May 8th in New Delhi. That date limits the period of my absence abroad. Apart from my visit to England, I hope to spend two or three days at Berne in Switzerland.

2. The Prime Ministers' Conference in London is being held primarily to consider the situation created by new developments in India. The decision to make India a sovereign Republic affects the whole structure of the Commonwealth and raises important questions. If India is to go out of the Commonwealth, then of course no particular difficulty arises in maintaining the present Commonwealth structure for the countries continuing to remain in it. But the Commonwealth minus India will naturally be a very different thing from what it has been. If, on the other hand, India, as a Republic, continues in the Commonwealth, then a new element is introduced into it which has thus far been absent. This is the important question to be decided in London and it has a certain historic significance, apart from its practical consequences.

3. Generally speaking, it may be said that most Commonwealth countries, including the United Kingdom, are eager to have India continue in the Commonwealth. But they have been rather troubled by the consequences which might flow from a Republic's inclusion in it. Thus far a common allegiance to the King has been supposed to be a binding factor. A Republican India cannot owe allegiance to the King.

4. You may have noticed what Field Marshal Smuts said some days ago about this question.¹ He seemed to think that a Republic cannot be a member of the Commonwealth. Some such indication also comes from comments in Pakistan. It would almost appear that South Africa and Pakistan would, unlike other Dominions, prefer India to be outside the Commonwealth.

5. Our own position in India has been clearly stated on many occasions. Minor details might not have been worked out, but the basic approach has been the same for a long period. This approach is that India must be a sovereign Republic with full control of her internal and external policy, that the Indian citizen will owe

1. On 9 April, Smuts criticized India for trying to retain Commonwealth membership without owing allegiance to the Crown. In his view, there was no middle course between the Crown and a Republic "you are either in the Commonwealth or out of it."

allegiance to India and to no external authority, that, subject to the above, we would like to be associated with the Commonwealth of Nations (which, incidentally, can no longer be called the British Commonwealth).

6. All this is more or less agreed to. Yet in working out some difficulties have arisen. Apart from a declaration of being in the Commonwealth, what other feasible links are present which might be considered as such in international law. One suggestion has been, and this has been generally accepted, that some kind of rather vague Commonwealth citizenship on reciprocal basis of each country should be provided for. In regard to the King it has been suggested that he might be recognized as a symbol of this association of free nations.

7. These are the questions at issue, apart from minor details. We have expressed our willingness to be associated in this way with the Commonwealth because we feel there are solid advantages to India and to the cause of world peace. But in being so associated, we cannot give up any vital thing that we stand for or accept the slightest limitations to our freedom in internal or external affairs. Also, I should like to make it perfectly clear again, that we propose to adhere to our policy of not lining up with any power bloc. Some people think that Commonwealth association necessarily means a lining up. That of course is completely wrong. We have been upto now in the Commonwealth, in fact we have been a Dominion. Yet we have maintained the freedom of our foreign policy. In future we shall be in an even stronger position to do so. It is completely wrong for any person to think that we are indirectly associated with the Western Union or the Atlantic Pact or with any proposals for a Pacific Pact. We are going out of all such entanglements.

8. I should like to remind you that the principles governing the policy I have enunciated above, have been stated repeatedly and have been approved not only in Parliament but by the National Congress at Jaipur. The subject has been fully discussed in the press and elsewhere and every aspect of it has been considered. Therefore I go to London after the fullest consideration of the problem in India and knowing generally what our people think.

9. In my last letter I drew your attention to the vast changes that are taking place in Asia, more particularly, the course of developments in China. India, being in a sense a pivotal point of Asia, will necessarily be greatly influenced by all these developments. The next three to six months may well see these big changes taking shape and it is of the utmost importance that a strong and stable India should face the world during these critical times. We have had recently with us K.M. Panikkar, our Ambassador in China; who has given us a full report of the situation there. He is returning today to Nanking. We have also had Vijayalakshmi Pandit, till recently our Ambassador in Moscow and now our Ambassador-designate in Washington. Her experience in Moscow and more especially, at several sessions of the United Nations has brought her in intimate touch with international affairs and the situation in Europe and America. Consultations with her are therefore helpful

to us in understanding recent developments. She will be going to Washington towards the end of this month.

10. We held an informal conference recently in Delhi in regard to Indonesia.² This was in continuation of the Conference on Indonesia held in New Delhi in January last and representatives of the countries participating in that Conference attended. We came to no formal decisions but certain recommendations were made to our respective governments. It is clear that the Dutch have failed to carry out the directions given by the Security Council and the latter has been very gentle to them. We have long felt that a stronger line would have been not only right in itself but more practical. We have pressed for this both in public and in private. But we have wished to avoid doing anything which might queer the pitch for the Security Council and which might go beyond the wishes of the Indonesian Republic. The position has been a difficult one, requiring very careful handling. Even as I write this, a conference is going to take place in Batavia.³

11. Thakin Nu, the Prime Minister of Burma, paid a brief visit to me two days ago and we discussed fully and frankly the situation in Burma. Thakin Nu is an old friend for whom I have great admiration. He is unlike the normal politician and his ways are straight and forthright. He has a very high reputation for integrity. It is fortunate for Burma that he is the Prime Minister there and if any one person can create stability and security in Burma and put her on the path of progress, it is Thakin Nu. The situation in Burma is a difficult one, but it is clear to me that the only alternative to Thakin Nu's Government there is chaos. No other group or individual is capable of controlling the situation. We are naturally interested in Burma not only because the fate of large numbers of Indians is involved, but also because what happens in Burma will have a powerful effect on India and all over South East Asia.

12. While a certain improvement in our relations with Pakistan continues, and evidence of this is a recent trade agreement⁴, the tone of the Pakistan Press continues to be bad. I am afraid we in India have some newspapers and periodicals which are completely irresponsible and make extraordinary statements. But I must say that some newspapers in Pakistan are infinitely worse. I have before me extracts from a daily newspaper published in Hyderabad, Sind. This reports that rumours are current to the effect:

- (1) Patel has been arrested by Nehru.
- (2) Nehru has been killed by the Sanghis.
- (3) Revolt started in India.
- (4) Amanullah⁵ has reached Patiala.

2. See *Selected Works* (Second Series) Vol. 9, p.165.

3. The conference was held on 15 April 1949.

4. By an agreement signed on 4 April 1949 India agreed to withdraw duties on the export of sugar, matches and textiles and Pakistan agreed to withdraw duties on raw jute.

5. (1892-1960); King of Afghanistan, 1919-1929; thereafter lived in exile in Italy and Switzerland.

(5) Amanullah attacking Delhi.

(6) Earthquake in Delhi resulting in the death of vast numbers of Sikhs and Hindus, and so on.

This is fantastic in the extreme. But even other newspapers are pretty bad and the kind of rumours that spread in Pakistan take one's breath away. This shows the atmosphere in which the average citizen of Pakistan lives. Can we blame him if he gets completely wrong ideas about India and the world?

13. You will remember that I made a statement⁶ repudiating certain insinuations contained in a statement by the Premier of the North West Frontier Province.⁷ I referred to the Red Shirts in the statement also. I had long refrained from referring to these old colleagues of ours because I felt that any reference by me might lead to greater repression of them. But latest developments in the Frontier Province compelled me not only to clear our position but also to say what I had in my heart in regard to the Red Shirts or Khudai Khidmatgars. There is no doubt that these gallant colleagues of ours in the past have had to put up with extreme repression and conditions in the Frontier Province are bad. So also are conditions in the Tribal Areas. Last year there was indiscriminate shooting down of Red Shirts in the Frontier Province and extensive and intensive bombing from the air of the Tribal Areas.

14. All this created a powerful effect in Afghanistan. To add to this, statements were made by responsible people in Pakistan that the Tribal Areas were integral parts of Pakistan. During the British period this was not so and the Tribal Areas were called independent territory and occupied a special position under some kind of suzerainty of the British Power. Afghanistan always laid some kind of a claim to them. The declaration by the Governor-General of Pakistan⁸ and others that the Tribal Areas were integral parts of Pakistan infuriated Afghanistan and there has been a tremendous anti-Pakistan agitation in Afghanistan since then. On the other hand in the Frontier Province and elsewhere in Pakistan efforts are being made to bring in Amanullah into the picture and to discredit the present Ruler⁹ and authorities in Afghanistan.¹⁰ Indeed the other day it was stated that Afghanistan should become part of Pakistan.¹¹ Relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan are thus very strained and the Afghan Ambassador and most of his staff at Karachi have gone back to Kabul. We are naturally bound by our commitments in the past and we have no desire to interfere in other people's business. But we cannot help

6. See Section 5, item 6.

7. Abdul Qayyum Khan. See also fn.14 of the preceding letter.

8. Khwaja Nazimuddin.

9. Muhammad Zahir Shah(b.1914), King of Afghanistan, 1933-73.

10. The Pakistan Radio in Quetta started propagating the return of Amanullah, who had been exiled in 1929, in place of King Muhammad Zahir Shah, as the King of Afghanistan.

11. On 11 April, the Premier of N.W.F.P. said that "the day must come when the people of Pakistan and Afghanistan would embrace each other to form one powerful Muslim State."

being interested in what happens at the old frontier of India, for that affects our own defence. We also cannot help being interested in the fate of the people of the Frontier Province who played such a gallant part in our struggle for freedom. If they ask for autonomy, we sympathize with them. All kinds of wild rumours are spread in Pakistan about our pouring in money into the Frontier Province or Tribal Areas of Afghanistan. These rumours are completely false. It is true, however, that our relations with Afghanistan are very friendly.

15. The position in regard to Kashmir continues to be complicated and in a sense fluid. The United Nations Commission has worked in a rather leisurely manner and we have yet to arrive at the Truce Agreement. There are some vital differences of opinion between us and Pakistan in regard to the conditions governing the truce. Meanwhile, it is said that Admiral Nimitz, who has been selected to be a Plebiscite Administrator, will come to India early next month. In accordance with the resolution of the Security Council, he cannot function as a Plebiscite Administrator till many other things have been done. So that if he comes, it will be more or less as an informal adviser and to study the situation. Our position remains what it was. We have accepted the plebiscite, but we have made it quite clear as to what should happen before the plebiscite can be thought of. Unless those conditions are fulfilled, there can be no proper plebiscite. In any event, it seems very difficult for any plebiscite to be held in another fifteen or eighteen months. What will happen during this fairly long period, I do not know. But much will no doubt happen.

16. You may have seen reports of Pakistani incursions into our territory in Kashmir. Separately taken, these are not of great import, but taken together, they do show an aggressive mentality and something very contrary to the mental climate of a truce. Statements and press comments in Pakistan also continue to be most aggressive. Among other things, we have made it clear that we will not tolerate any exploitation of religion or religious propaganda in connection with the plebiscite.¹² And yet this is just the type of propaganda that Pakistan continually indulges in. Sheikh Abdullah, the Prime Minister of Kashmir, has throughout repudiated the two-nation theory of the Muslim League and has refused to permit any propaganda which encourages communalism or religious bigotry.

17. The food situation is constantly being attended to. At our request Lord Boyd Orr is visiting India to advise us. He was till lately the Head of the F.A.O. and is one of the greatest authorities on the subject. For the present he is coming for three weeks, but I hope he will be able to come for some months later in the year. It is possible that he might visit some provincial centres during his visit. I trust that all Provincial and State Governments will give full assistance to Lord Boyd Orr.

18. We have long talked of planning and of setting up a planning authority, and owing to various reasons, no definite step to this end has been taken. We have,

12. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 9, p.293.

however, during the last few months set up an Economic Committee of the Cabinet, an Economic Adviser,¹³ a Statistical Adviser¹⁴ and a Committee of Economists and Statisticians. I think that in the course of the next two months or so, we shall have to give more concentrated attention to this business of planning. It is easy enough to set up some Board or Commission. I have refrained from doing this because I have noticed that Boards and Commissions and Committees are appointed before the time is ripe for them and before they could do much. All that happens is that an additional office is created and then we want staff for it and accommodation, etc. I would rather proceed more cautiously and more firmly. The question is a peculiar and intricate one, requiring the fullest cooperation from Provinces and States. Probably, later on, we shall address you on this subject and make some proposals.

19. Dr. Gyan Chand, who is attached to the Prime Minister's Secretariat here, proposes to visit a number of provincial headquarters with a view to collect factual information and study the Provincial Governments' plans about future developments. His purpose is not to give any advice or lay down any policy, but just to collect data and to know more intimately what the provincial schemes are. I shall be grateful if assistance is given to him, wherever he goes.

20. You have been informed of our Labour Ministry's scheme for industrial housing.¹⁵ The question of having legislation to enforce the employers' contribution is being considered and the views of Provincial Governments have been asked for. It is clear that in this, as in other matters, provincial cooperation is essential.

21. I wrote to you previously about the reactions of the representatives of the International Monetary Fund during their visit to India. We have received some further information on this subject and again they lay stress on certain lack of coordination between the Provinces and the Centre, more especially, in regard to food, transport and power. Further, they seem to be of opinion that while the Centre and the Provinces had ambitious development plans, there was no clear appreciation of the picture as a whole and there was danger of trying to run in all directions and to run too fast. It was essential, they thought, to fix priorities. This question of coordination between the Centre and Provinces is assuming even greater importance than in the past.

22. A few days ago, I had the pleasure to meet a number of Premiers at a meeting called by our Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation in New Delhi.¹⁶ We

13. Gyan Chand.

14. P.C. Mahalonobis.

15. It was announced by the Industrial Policy resolution of 1948 that a million houses would be provided to industrial workers in ten years, and an interest-free house-building loan would be given to cover two-thirds of the cost of the construction.

16. On 9 April 1949.

discussed the problem of displaced persons, their dispersal in various Provinces and other plans for their rehabilitation. Many of the Premiers present gave us the benefit of their advice. I must confess that I was rather depressed by this Conference. I have a sensation that each Province was thinking of itself and not caring over much for India as a whole. There was a strong reluctance to what was considered as interference from the Centre in regard to this matter. Yet it has to be remembered that it is the Centre that pays for rehabilitation. All that was considered necessary was for the Centre to go on paying but not interfering. Further, many provinces were not at all eager to take any large number of displaced persons, even though the Centre paid. At the present moment, Delhi, both old and new, has a population of over half a million displaced persons. That is bad for Delhi, for Delhi being the capital is rapidly becoming the nerve-centre of India and we cannot afford to have anything going wrong at the nerve-centre. West Bengal is full of refugees from East Bengal. Unless other Provinces help Delhi and West Bengal, the result is that far too many people congregate in those two places and it is quite impossible to absorb them there. There is no solution of the problem except by the full cooperation of the Provinces and States. The burden shared becomes lighter.

23. Some time ago I suggested that Provincial Governments might well appoint some autonomous Boards to look after rehabilitation of displaced persons. Subsequently, a very moderate proposal was put forward that each Provincial Government should have a small Cabinet Committee, as at the Centre, specially in charge of rehabilitation. I was surprised to find reluctance on the part of Provincial Governments to adopt either course, although it seems to me that any such problem must be tackled separately and not left to the routine of Government work. I fear there is little realization in many Provinces of the burden and great difficulties of this problem of rehabilitating vast numbers of displaced persons. Only those Provinces which have got nearly the whole burden on their backs realize its importance. I must appeal to you to view this problem in its all-India aspect.

24. We can never forget that the stability and security of India can only be considered as an all-India problem. One weak link weakens that stability. We have passed through great crises and overcome great difficulties. Perhaps because we have done so, we are apt to be complacent and fit into the ruts of normal Government procedure. That is not to be commended. May I remind you that we live in an extraordinary moment of the world's history, and of Asia's and India's history, when revolutionary changes of enormous significance are unfolding themselves before our eyes. We cannot afford to be complacent or to think in terms of ordinary routine work in solving urgent problems. We have to be alert and open to fresh ideas and capable of adapting ourselves to changing circumstances and new problems.

25. The question has arisen about communal proportions in the services.¹⁷ This is one of the unfortunate legacies of a past age. Perhaps we cannot suddenly do away with them. But I think we should always bear in mind that all this business of communalism has to go and we should, therefore, endeavour to lessen the existing evil, wherever we can. The right approach is not a communal approach but an approach to help backward classes to come up to the level of others.

26. You are aware that Shri H.P. Mody has been appointed Governor of the United Provinces. The functions of a Governor have changed greatly since August 1947. He is now a constitutional Governor and the responsibilities for all decisions rests with his Ministry. But it is not correct to think that the Governor is just a social figure-head and no more. He has vital functions to perform and a good Governor can make a great difference to a Province. He can help to smooth over difficulties which often arise. Being above parties, he can help in bringing people together.

27. Recently there have been two changes in Provincial Ministries—in Madras¹⁸ and the East Punjab.¹⁹ Changes in Ministries due to any political causes may well represent a healthy organism. But these changes are due to private faction and personal considerations and they indicate an inner weakness. I regret that this personal element has been in evidence in some places not only in Governments but also in the Congress organization. If we cannot rise above this, we shall not only sink ourselves but carry others with us.

28. You are aware that we are giving up the use of titles in our official work, in so far as Indians are concerned. I think this practice of not using titles should be extended as far as possible. In a limited number of cases titles perhaps will have to be used for the present. For instance, when reference is made to the King, it seems courteous and desirable that a title, which originated from the King, should be used. But, otherwise, there seems to be no necessity. In invitations issued for official functions, even though these are social parties at Government Houses, these titles might well be left out.

29. I must confess to you that I am worried on account of the deterioration in our general educational system. There is a high-powered Education Commission²⁰ at work now and no doubt their recommendations will be valuable. But it seems pretty obvious that standards are lower than they were and this is

17. Posts which were previously reserved for religious minorities were reserved for 'scheduled castes and tribes', and sometimes for Anglo-Indians in certain categories of service, for a period not exceeding ten years after the inauguration of the new Constitution.
18. On 6 April, P.S. Kumaraswami Raja replaced O.P. Ramaswamy Reddiar as Premier and formed a new ministry.
19. Bhimsen Sachar formed a new Cabinet on 6 April 1949 after he replaced Gopichand Bhargava as the Premier.
20. The Universities Education Commission was set up on 4 November 1948 under the Chairmanship of S. Radhakrishnan.

a dangerous tendency. While salaries and wages have a strong tendency to increase in Government offices and elsewhere, the salaries of professors in the Universities and teachers in the schools compare badly with official salaries. I know that it is no easy matter to increase these salaries because of our financial difficulty. But we must realize that whatever else happens, we cannot afford to lower our educational standards.

30. One of the most deplorable features of the present day is the extraordinary mentality of some of our students. I do not mind exuberance among students or even aggressiveness. I like vitality, but what I do not like is the demands made for lower standards in passes, for hunger strikes because fees have been slightly raised, for a demand that a student should be represented in University Commissions and the like. This is an extraordinary approach. The other day at one University a suggestion was put forward on the part of students that because of a visit of an eminent person, a number of failed students should be passed. It is our misfortune that we have in the past attached importance to examinations and degrees as such. The sooner we get rid of this idea, the better. If there is a way of doing away with examinations, I would welcome it. But I do not myself see how this can be done. Anyhow all this indicates not a desire for knowledge, not a desire to get training, not a desire to fit oneself for shouldering responsibilities, but somehow or other to get a label without necessarily having any qualifications of anything. We cannot permit this drift. Some students imagine that this is democracy. That is a very strange delusion.

31. One of the saddest events of the last fortnight has been the sudden death of Dr. Birbal Sahni, a brilliant scientist and one from whom much was hoped in India. Only a few days before his death I laid the foundation-stone of an institute of palaeobotany in Lucknow. This was essentially his creation and he had devoted all his fortune and his valuable collections to it. He had just been elected President of a Botanical Congress to be held in Stockholm. His death is a very serious loss not only to science in India but to the world of science.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

IV

New Delhi
April 16, 1949

My dear Premier,

At the recent Conference of Premiers¹ held in New Delhi the question of the

1. On 8 and 9 April 1949.

Communist Party was discussed. It was considered whether the Communist Party should be banned or not. The matter has been considered by the Central Cabinet and the Deputy Prime Minister placed the views of Provincial Premiers before our Cabinet.

2. The Cabinet was of opinion that any step in the nature of banning the Communist Party in India should be avoided at present.

3. No one is in any doubt about the highly injurious activities of the Communist Party of India. Those activities, as I have stated in Parliament,² have bordered on open revolt and have increasingly taken the shape of sabotage or even terrorism. Because of this the Central Government and the Provincial Governments have taken strong action against the members of the Communist Party of India. That action will continue so long as the situation necessitates it.

4. The question is whether banning the Party in India will, in the balance, have more favourable results and will strengthen the hands of Government or not. To some extent, it may be said, that banning gives a free hand to the authorities to deal with subversive elements. On the other hand, that free hand has been given to the authorities and widespread action has been taken. The Communist Party of India, though not illegal, is in effect functioning more or less as an underground organization with a public facade. Banning will not make much difference to this and the underground activities will only be intensified.

5. A fact always to remember and to bring out is that the Communist Party members in India are following the policy of sabotage and terrorism. If we ban the Party this aspect of sabotage and terrorism will rather fade out from people's minds and it will be thought that the banning is due to ideological reasons. Communists here and elsewhere will stand up as defenders of a certain ideology and will try to hide under that cloak their subversive and terroristic activities. It is most important that we should distinguish between these two and should lay stress on their present policy of sabotage and terrorism and not allow them to shift the point of attack.

6. There are two matters which specially concern us—the question of sabotage and how to deal with virulent newspaper propaganda of the Communists. As for sabotage, this is a secret activity and banning does not help at all. As for newspapers, action should be taken against individual newspapers wherever necessary. I think there has been a certain laxity in regard to this in the past.³ What happens now is that if a newspaper is suppressed or banned, another one sometimes takes its place under a different name. This position also cannot be dealt with by banning, because new names will appear.

2. On 28 February 1949. See Section 3, sub-section 11, item 2.

3. For example, the *People's Age*, an official organ of the Communist Party, had not been banned by the Bombay Government till this time, though its editorial staff had been arrested.

7. Generally speaking, therefore, banning does not give any greater powers to deal with an organization which is essentially functioning underground. The slight balance in favour of banning is rather outweighed by Communists posing as ideological martyrs instead of saboteurs and terrorists.

8. In particular at the present moment when I am going to England for an important Conference, and in view of the tremendous developments that are taking place in China, we have to be a little wary of any steps we take which may affect the international situation adversely to us.

9. These were some of the reasons which the Cabinet had before it in coming to its decision. Of course no such decisions are final and any matter can be considered again whenever it is thought that necessity arises. I thought I should write to you and give you the background of our discussion instead of merely communicating that decision itself.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES

I. The Hindu Code Bill

1. To G.V. Mavalankar¹

New Delhi
February 22, 1949

My dear Speaker,

Thank you for your letter. I am very sorry to learn of your wife's illness. Of course you should attend to her and help in getting proper treatment for her.

There is just one matter which is rather troubling me. On the day you propose to go away, the Hindu Code Bill will come up for discussion. I find that there are ten motions² by private Members. What will happen to these, I do not know. They are all of a dilatory nature. I do not wish anything to be done in regard to the Hindu Code Bill which suppresses full discussion, but mere attempts to postpone discussion seem to me to be unfortunate and to savour of obstructive tactics. The present position is that the motion for consideration will be generally discussed, but the actual Bill, clause by clause, will not be considered till some later time. In this general discussion all the arguments put forward by the opponents of the measure or by those who wish to postpone it can be put forward by them. The separate motions for withdrawal or postponement or eliciting further opinion, etc., will merely mean duplicating that discussion and perhaps hardly give any time for the discussion itself.

That is a matter for you to decide or whoever is presiding. I would not of course have written to you but for the fact that you may be absent and instead of you, the Deputy Speaker, Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, will presumably preside. He himself holds certain very definite and pronounced views on this Bill³ and he will be placed in a slightly embarrassing position in regard to these various motions which are of an obstructive character.

In case it is not possible for you to stay for a day longer, may I suggest that you might discuss this matter with the Deputy Speaker and give your own views on the subject to him? All I wish is that there should be a full discussion on the main proposal of Dr. Ambedkar and that time should not be spent too much on subsidiary issues which in effect have partly been discussed already in various ways and which, in any event, can be discussed again on the main proposal.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 9, p. 334.

3. It was reported in *The Hindustan Times* on 8 February 1949 that Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, while addressing a meeting of Sanskrit Pandits in Varanasi on 7 February 1949, had said that personally he was opposed to the Hindu Code Bill because it tried to break the Hindu joint family.

2. To B.R. Ambedkar¹

New Delhi
February 26, 1949

My dear Ambedkar,

Regarding the Hindu Code Bill, you know how I entirely sympathize with the general purport of this Bill and I should very much like it to go through the present Legislature. I feel however that we should try our utmost to make passage of the Bill easy. There is obviously a great deal of opposition to the bill both in the House and in the country. We may pass the Bill in spite of this opposition. But that will mean two things: (i) continuous obstruction and delay in the passage and possibly success in preventing it from passing this year; (ii) obstruction in the implementation of the Bill when passed. Large numbers of people might offer this obstruction in an organized way. It is always difficult to deal with this kind of thing.

Because of this, I told the Executive meeting of the Party that while I was opposed to any further references to the old or to a new Select Committee² or to further circulation, I was prepared to have certain controversial clauses in the Bill informally considered by members interested. We are not going to have a clause by clause consideration of the Bill during this Session. There is no chance of this being done till the autumn Session. That means that we have got about six months. During this period we might well arrange for this informal consideration of special clauses of the Bill. Persons consulted may be some of the members of the old Select Committee or some others also. If necessary we might even consult some non-members. It has been suggested to me that perhaps some judges might be consulted. This procedure should not be at all formal and the consultation need not be all in a bunch but separately or in small groups.

I think that this procedure will facilitate the passage of the Bill. We may modify some provisions somewhat and thus gain larger approval. Even apart from this, the mere fact of consultation again would soothe many people.

The Governor-General has told me that such a procedure will be wise. The Speaker has also written to me privately that he is rather unhappy about some parts of the Bill.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. The Select Committee, consisting of 20 members including B.R. Ambedkar, Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, Bakshi Tek Chand, and Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, was authorized on 9 April 1948 by the Constituent Assembly to present its report. The report was presented on 12 August 1948. The suggestion for a new Select Committee was not accepted.

I should like you to consider this matter and arrange for this kind of consultation after the present Session is over.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To B.R. Ambedkar¹

New Delhi
March 20, 1949

My dear Ambedkar,

I have your letter² of the 20th March about the Hindu Code Bill. I am myself rather fed up with the attempts to delay and obstruct this Bill. I do not quite know what to do with the matter. My difficulty is that the Speaker himself seems to think that he must not come in the way of further discussion. I have thus far not taken any step in this matter.

Another difficulty has arisen. We have been compelled to agree to give two days—one for a discussion on food and the other on the Railway Enquiry Committee or some such thing. This reduces the available days very greatly. Indeed I think that the Session will have to go beyond the 7th April as previously decided upon. How much time we can give to the Hindu Code Bill during the remaining part of the Session, I do not know.

You will remember that I wrote to you sometime ago and suggested that during the interval between this Session and the next we might have informal talks with persons chiefly interested in the Bill either way and discuss the particular points to which objection is raised. The whole Bill need not be considered. My object in suggesting this was to facilitate the future passage of the Bill. If, in regard to any matter, an agreement is arrived at, well and good. If not, even then it was a good move to tone down opposition and remove some grievances, whether legitimate or not. As you know, I am entirely in favour of the Bill, but I want to proceed in a manner so as to lessen or tone down the opposition, not only in Parliament but outside. I do not wish to give a handle to people that we have refused

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Ambedkar expressed his frustration over unusual delay in discussion of the Hindu Code Bill and at the obstructive tactics followed by various members of Congress to stop present enactment of the Bill.

to give them an opportunity to discuss it with us. I did not agree to a reference to a new Select Committee or back to the old Committee. But I did give an assurance that we were prepared to talk informally after this Session was over and before the next began.

We have informed the Party that we shall give freedom of vote on this Bill. I imagine there is a majority in favour of it. But there is also a strong and vociferous minority opposed to it. Probably, in the country as a whole, a very considerable section of the Hindus are opposed to it. Whether a majority lies this way or that way has some importance, but not much. It is tactically sound not to give an opportunity to the opponents of the Bill to raise minor matters and to be able to say that we are gagging them, quite apart from any truth or otherwise in this allegation. What I have in mind really is not Parliament as such but reaction outside.

I should like the Bill to be proceeded with in this Session and your motion to be passed. But if the Speaker gives a longer rope to members, what has to be done about it? He appears to feel rather strongly about it. In the final analysis, does it matter very much if we vote on the consideration stage now or a little later? At every stage we are likely to meet with this opposition and certainly when amendments are considered, there will be hundreds of them. How to deal with this at a later stage and get through the Bill is a problem before us. Any action taken now, which irritates a large section and makes them more obstructive in future, will not pay in the long run.

Perhaps you might speak to the Speaker on this subject.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. To G. V. Mavalankar¹

New Delhi
March 25, 1949

My dear Speaker,

You were good enough to write to me some time ago about the Hindu Code Bill. I understand that since then you have had interviews with the Governor-General and the Law Minister on this subject.

1. J. N. Collection.

This question has been considered fully at a full Party meeting on one occasion and by the Party Executive on two or three occasions. We decided to go ahead with this Bill and pass the motion for consideration. We were opposed to any fresh reference to a Select Committee, either the old one or a new one. But we were anxious to meet and discuss with the various interests concerned all major points of difference. I gave an assurance therefore that after this Bill had been considered during this Session, we shall take steps during the interval before the next Session of the Legislature to examine afresh the controversial clauses of the Bill and to try to meet, as far as possible, the objections raised. Probably it would not be possible to get a fully agreed measure, as the approach is different. But I did think it might be possible to tone down the differences. This would be easier, if the approach was informal and any person could be invited, than a formal committee considered it. We could even invite some of the Provincial M.L.As for the purpose.

We have now had three days of discussion. I had imagined that three days would be quite enough and that some kind of a vote would be taken at the end of the third day. Quite a number of people have already spoken, and spoken at great length. If necessary we can give another day or even a little more. I do not myself see how anyone can have a grievance about our limiting the debate when such ample opportunities have been given. After all, this is a motion for consideration and we shall have to consider every part of the Bill separately and with care later on.

As I have said above, we would gladly consult provincial M.L.As informally later on. For my part, I would be agreeable to permit a few selected provincial M.L.As, who might be considered experts on this subject, to attend the meeting of the Legislature which considers the Bill in detail. But I think it would be undesirable, and would lead to grave difficulties, if we invite all the Members of the Provincial Legislatures to come to the Central Assembly just because this particular Bill was being considered.

While I appreciate the necessity for the fullest debate on a question of importance affecting large number of people, I confess that the attitude taken up by some Members can only be described as delaying and obstructive. I do not think it would be right for us to encourage this attitude and this would not redound to the credit of the Legislature.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. To V. S. Sarwate¹

New Delhi
April 1, 1949

Dear Mr. Sarwate,²

I have received your letter³ of today's date late in the evening.

I do not understand the objection⁴ that has been raised to the inclusion of the Hindu Code Bill in today's agenda. This Bill has already been debated for three full days and naturally the discussion has to continue whenever time is available. I understand that the Priority Committee, which fixes the agenda on behalf of Government fixed it for today, having regard to the remaining work of the Session.

Your suggestion that all the members of the Constituent Assembly should be asked to attend because this particular measure is being considered also appears to be opposed, to our practice. Members of the Provincial Legislatures cannot normally be Members of the Central Legislature. A difficulty has arisen now because the present legislature was originally elected for constitution making. In order to get over this difficulty and to keep within the terms of well recognized convention and procedure, we decided to request Members of Povincial Legislatures not to attend the sessions of Parliament. A few exceptions were made for very special reasons, though the exceptions applied not to any particular measure but attendance in Parliament. It is quite impossible to consider the attendance of all Provincial Assembly Members, who may be members of the C. A. for one particular measure. That would be against all rules and regulations, apart from costing the country a very large sum of money.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J. N. Collection.

2. Vinayak Sitaram Sarwate (1884-1972); lawyer, Minister for Education, Indore State, 1947-48; Member, Constituent Assembly of India, 1948-50 and Provisional Parliament of India, 1950-52; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1952-57.

3. Sarwate wrote that any motion passed by the Constituent Assembly would not be represented as a whip "issued to such members of this Assembly as are members of Provincial Assemblies also not to attend this session of the Assembly." Moreover, such important issues as the Hindu Code Bill "ought not to have been included at such short notice."

4. Lakshmi Kant Maitra (West Bengal) and Mahavir Tyagi (U.P.) objected to the discussion of the Bill without prior information.

CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES

II. Other Matters

1. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
February 20, 1949

My dear Governor-General,

I received your letter of the 18th February regarding the Bihar Sales Tax Bill and sent it immediately to the Home Minister. I enclose a copy of his reply to me.² I myself agree with what he has written and I feel that there are no sufficient grounds for refusing assent to the Bill. It may be, in strict law, *ultra vires*—although the matter is not quite free from doubt. In any event it is a highly technical point. I appreciate the technical points for their importance. In the present case a refusal to give assent will give rise to tremendous difficulties and confusion. All these matters were fully considered by the Cabinet. I trust therefore that you will give your assent to the Bill.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J. N. Collection.
2. Rajagopalachari had withheld his assent to the Bihar Sales Tax Bill holding it to be *ultra vires*. To this Patel reacted by saying that any decision to withhold assent “will have repercussions on the operation of the Acts in other Provinces” and that the Cabinet would be forced to pass the Bill even without the Governor-General’s assent. The Bill was enacted in 1950 with the Governor-General’s assent.

2. The Standing Advisory Committees¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, I feel somewhat bewildered at the eloquence of Mr. Kamath in this matter² over which perhaps thirty seconds spent in mentioning it to me would have been sufficient, but he has devoted thirty minutes in this House. As a matter of fact, I am astonished, because I was under the mistaken impression that the External Affairs Ministry had more meetings of its Standing Committee than almost any other Ministry.

1. Debate on the motion regarding elections to the Standing Advisory Committee of the Ministry of External Affairs, 23 March 1949. *Constituent Assembly (Legislative) Debates, Official Report*, Vol. III, Part II, 1949, pp. 1765-1766.
2. H. V. Kamath urged that the working of the Standing Committees should be made more efficient and criticized the Standing Committee of the Ministry of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations for not meeting often enough.

May be,³ but during the last 12 or may be 13 months we have had eight meetings of the Standing Committee. It is true the real criticism has been not about the number of meetings held, but that the meetings were held at the time of the Session of this Assembly or the Constitution-making body, and not during periods when the Parliament was not meeting. Now I certainly accept that criticism. It may be desirable to have held the meetings during the off period. But normally it is considered obviously convenient to have them when Members are present here for the meetings. As a matter of fact, since the session started we have had, I think, three meetings during this Session, and we propose to have another two at least before we part. If it is necessary, we can have meetings during the off period also. But it is not a matter for lengthy arguments. It is for any member of the Standing Committee to express his wish, and the thing will be done.

I just cannot understand why Mr. Kamath should fight with something which does not exist. Mr. Kamath's speech might have created this impression about the External Affairs Ministry that the Committee did not have enough meetings. We have had about eight meetings during the last thirteen months. May be that they were concentrated within some period. But generally speaking, I would just like to say that it is obviously our desire, it is the desire of the Government that there should be the closest cooperation between the Standing Committees and the various Ministries, much more than what existed during the previous regime. The only question that arises is how that close cooperation should be brought about—the ways and means. The principle is admitted, and we wish to encourage it as much as possible.

Mr. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar made various suggestions.⁴ Some other Honourable Members also made various suggestions, and I will not take up the time of the House now in considering each one of them in detail, except to say that we shall consider all these suggestions and I am sure my honourable colleague, the Finance Member, will also consider the suggestions made,⁵ so far as they relate to his Ministry, and other suggestions also, and we shall consider them in detail. We shall, in fact, look into this debate completely again, to see what points have been made and refer them to the various Ministries and see what can be done. But, *prima facie*, I may say one thing about what Mr. Ayyangar proposed, to the effect that each Member of the Committee might have a separate department.

3. A member had interrupted to say 'no'.

4. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar suggested that before the election of members of the Standing Committee a statement of their activities during the previous year should be circulated in Parliament.

5. It was mentioned that the Standing Committee of the Ministry of Finance did not give its advice on some financial proposals which had to be sent back to it, from the floor of the House, causing undue delay. It was suggested that there be a rule that all such proposals be laid before the Committee before the House examined them.

a separate section of the Ministry to be in his charge. If I may say so *prima facie*, that will involve a great deal of difficulty, and instead of helping people, it may very well produce confusion and conflicts.

Ananthasayanam Ayyangar clarified that he only wanted the members of the Committee to know the details of administration before any communication from a department regarding control was issued.

JN: As I said, we will examine these proposals. But this is my first reaction to that proposal.

As for the chairmanship of the committees, personally I have no objection if the House wants to have a non-official Chairman. But I would beg the House to consider this, and there is a great deal of confusion about this matter. We just cannot get over the hang-over from the past. Previously there were two groups. Humanity was divided in India into two groups—the officials and the non-officials. But that division does not apply now. My honourable friend the Finance Minister and I may be in office, but we are non-officials. We are not in a service. The real division is permanent services and others. That fact is not remembered, and it is apparently thought that any person who accepts office in any capacity suddenly falls from grace and becomes polluted, and a person who does not accept office is necessarily highly pure and undefiled. Well, I do not accept that, I reject that contention completely. But nevertheless in spite of that, if the House desires that the Chairman of these committees or of any committee should be—I will not use that word non-official—should be an elected Chairman, I do not mind at all. But personally I think it is normally conducive to efficient business for the Chairman to be a person connected with the executive apparatus. He does not exercise any more power by being there. He only gives the facts and places them before the meeting. But as I said, it is entirely for the House to decide. If the House wants the other thing, we shall have it. It does not make a great difference.

R. K. Sidhwa drew Nehru's attention to the poor attendance of Members in Committee meetings.

JN: If the House so desires, I shall put up a statement in the course of the next few days showing how many meetings of each Standing Committee were held, and what the attendance was, so that the House may have the information. But it is rather difficult for me to give the attendance of individual members, their attendance or non-attendance. It is up to the House to elect such members as can come and carry on the business.

I. ASSAM

1. To Sri Prakasa¹

New Delhi
25 March 1949

My dear Prakasa,

I am sorry for the delay in acknowledging your two letters of March 2nd and March 8th.

It is rather difficult for me to advise you about the future of the Hill States.² I do not quite know what the attitude of the States Ministry is. I think sometime or other we should discuss this matter together, that is, Bardoloi and you and Sardar Patel and I. Possibly we might do so at the time of the next Governors' Conference.

I suppose ultimately the States will have to be merged. At the same time I am fairly clear in my mind that we have to proceed cautiously and we must not compel the Hill people to do anything against their expressed will. There is no doubt that there is a certain tension between the Hill people and the people of the plains. They are somewhat different from each other and the Hill people are very much afraid of being exploited. Because they are backward, we have to help them in every way and make them feel that we are helping them and not coercing them.

As regards Bardoloi's desire to have a say in regard to the bigger States and the Assam Rifles, he can always have his say. But if there is any difference of opinion between you and him, the matter should be referred to us. I might mention that Nichols Roy, your P.W.D. Minister³, has a way of considering all the Khasis as his own personal property. I have known him for some years and have even stayed as his guest. He has his good points, but his failings are also rather obvious and we must not take everything he says for granted.

About the sudden transfer of Jarman, it was obviously desirable for you to be consulted, whatever the strict legalities might be. If there is a question of proceeding strictly in such matters, then the question of your consulting Bardoloi about the Assam Rifles or the bigger States would not arise. It is far better for friendly conversation to take place even in regard to matters, which strictly are the responsibility of one party. Ultimately a government cannot be carried on in entirely separate compartments. Obviously, however, a few are ultimately responsible, who should not accept anything to disagree with. You can refer the matter to us.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. After the reorganization of the States in 1948, a Hill Sub-Committee was formed in 1948 with G.N. Bardoloi as Chairman. This Committee had helped the hill people to handle their own affairs according to their social customs and later granted them a large amount of autonomy in the form of District Councils.

3. From 1946 to 1950.

Regarding arrests and imprisonments without trial, I dislike this business very much, though I realize that in existing circumstances it has to be done.⁴ But there must be a careful examination of each case. There is too much of a tendency for Provincial Ministers to get panicky. That is a bad thing.

I understand that a new Dewan is going to Manipur. Manipur is a ticklish problem and many people here and in Assam are greatly worried about the Communists there. I think this worry is somewhat exaggerated. However, care has to be taken. I do not personally think that there is any danger of infiltration from Burma.

I am likely to go to London for about ten days on the 19th April.

Yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. There were peasant movements and industrial strikes in Assam between 1948 and 1951, under the guidance of the Communist Party. A large number of landless peasants and tribals were arrested and imprisoned without trial.

II. HYDERABAD

1. The Jagirdari System¹

I have glanced through the minutes of the meeting held on the 22nd and 23rd March 1949 in the Ministry of States in regard to Hyderabad. There is one matter in it which has rather perturbed me. This is the proposal about the Jagirdari system.² I do not know all the facts and am therefore unable to give any opinion. But any suggestion that the abolition of the Jagirdari system should take place progressively within a period of sixty years or even 45 years seems to me to be completely unrealistic and likely to produce a bad reaction.

2. Hyderabad apart, the fundamental problem of Asia today is the agrarian problem. There can be no doubt that what has happened in China and Indo-China, has as its basis the agrarian problem. A great agrarian revolution is taking place

1. Note to Ministry of States, 8 April 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. A system of land revenue settlement introduced by the Mughals. It made over the revenues of a specified territory to a Jagirdar who would appropriate the revenue and administer the district. The post of the Jagirdar was not hereditary.

over these vast areas of Asia. This may well spread to Siam. In Burma there has been trouble also partly connected with land. In Western Asia, agrarian conditions are primitive and probably there will be trouble in the near future. Thus the whole of Asia is in the grip of a very serious agrarian crisis of a revolutionary nature.

3. In India, agrarian conditions have improved during the last dozen years or so and a certain security of tenure has been established. Our general programme is the abolition of the zamindari system. All these steps that we have taken have prevented a serious agrarian crisis from arising and have given a certain stability to the State. That stability itself is dependent upon further steps to solve this problem.

4. In the States, conditions are more backward and the move forward will, therefore, have to be quicker to keep in line with conditions in the rest of India. Hyderabad was a typical feudal State. It will be difficult to distinguish it from other areas in India in regard to agrarian conditions. Owing to the upheaval last year and our intervention, the old order has been completely shaken up. We realize that of course and are taking steps to put something somewhat different in its place. But if we go too slow, the shift-over to communism will be rapid. Therefore, it seems to me urgently necessary that we view this Hyderabad problem not only in its own context but in the wider context of India and the vast movements that are convulsing agrarian conditions in Asia.

5. As I have said above, I am making no suggestion because I have no sufficient knowledge to do so. But I wish to point out that any slow-moving process or change may well defeat itself and lead to conditions which are difficult to control. The urgency of the agrarian situation, therefore, must be appreciated and the fact that changes have to be far-reaching and rapid.

III. ORISSA

1. Time for Constructive Work¹

The people of Orissa should strive hard to increase the productive wealth of the province and thereby contribute to India's prosperity and strength.

A country's wealth is not judged by the gold and silver it has, but by its natural resources and by the way they are developed by its people to provide the necessities

1. Address to a gathering at Konarak, Orissa, 10 March 1949. From *The Hindustan Times*, 12 March 1949.

of life. India has all the necessities of life and the natural resources; and talent is inherent in its people.

Till now, due to foreign domination, the road has not been open to us to use our skills or to utilize the resources. After the achievement of India's independence, we have set out towards this objective of utilizing the country's resources.

We have, however, to face difficult problems, including the problem of refugees who have to be rehabilitated. We can, however, withstand these difficult situations, and now the time has come for us to concentrate on constructive work and accelerate the pace of progress.

One thing I find among the masses is the practice of sending memorials to Government for all kinds of help. Government derives its revenue from the public for spending it for the benefit of the masses. In this order of things, people should realize that by increasing their own strength by means of production, the strength of Government would also be increased. That was the conception of Mahatma Gandhi's democratic government.

Orissa had a glorious past as this memorial before us² clearly demonstrates. Unless it was rich and prosperous, such a temple would not have been built.

I slipped out of the busy work at Delhi and came here to have some rest. When I came to Orissa last year, I said I would visit the province again for about a week to take rest, and I have now come for that purpose.

I and Lady Mountbatten have been invited by Dr. Katju, Mr. Asaf Ali and Mr. Mahtab to visit the temple. In order to revive the glorious past we have to strive hard. For instance, work on the Mahanadi project³ is going on and I am confident that the face of the province will be changed within four or five years, as a result of the project and other constructive work, from one of poverty to that of prosperity.

The weakness or strength of any part of the country will vitally affect the country as a whole and, if we serve India, we serve the province also.

I am in close contact with the Premier, Mr. Mahtab, and Mr. Asaf Ali. I am confident that the progress of constructive work which is urgently necessary for building up national wealth is safe in the hands of Mr. Mahtab. He has proved by his merit, sacrifice and work for the nation in the past that he is competent to shoulder the responsibility.

I am pained to hear about some disturbances in the newly integrated Mayurbhanj State. All of them, Adivasis as well as non-Adivasis, are brothers. But the Adivasis, because of their backwardness, have become a prey to the instigations of interested

2. The Konarak temple of the 13th century, dedicated to Surya, the Sun God, is situated on the sea beach, north of Puri.
3. The Mahanadi Project comprises three units, the Hirakud Dam Project, the Tikarpura Dam Project and the Naraj Dam Project. Each is independent with its own canal system and hydro-electric power installations. It was decided to make a start with building the Hirakud Dam.

parties and individuals. As a result they have taken to the path of violence and hatred. The result is that they have attacked the police who had to open fire resulting in the death of a few persons.⁴ But I will say that violence and hatred would lead them nowhere. They (Adivasis and non-Adivasis) should learn to live together with love and affection for each other. They should learn that they can never profit by violence.

Some Adivasis are reported to be attempting to revive some of the old customs which are extinct. If they do so they will invite trouble. But on the contrary, if they live peacefully, Government will afford all facilities for their uplift.

4. See Section 1, sub-section 1, item 5, fn.2.

2. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi

12 March 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

You sent me a letter dated 8 March about a request from the Governor of Orissa for an increase in his allowances.² I have discussed this matter both with Asaf Ali and Mahtab. I have told them that it is difficult for us at present to consider the question of increase of allowances for Governors anywhere because of the public criticism in such matters. I have added, however, that the matter might be considered some time later, when conditions were more propitious. I have not gone deeply into this question of increasing various allowances. I suppose it is not necessary for me to do so. It appears that the Finance Department of the province has agreed to the suggested increase in allowances.

In regard to one matter, that is touring, Mahtab is definitely of opinion that touring by the Governor is necessary and beneficial. Indeed he said that Katju had done a lot of good by his tours and Asaf Ali had also helped the Ministry greatly by his touring. In fact Mahtab wanted to encourage this touring, adding further that a Governor's tours, standing on a separate footing from those of the Ministers, helped greatly in producing a proper atmosphere in the province. This applied

1. File No. 2(372)/49-PMS.

2. In his letter Patel suggested that Governors ought to reduce rather than increase their demands for financial allowances. In the case of the Governor of Orissa who had suggested an increase under "tour expenses", Patel felt that it was not a constitutional requirement for the Governor to tour extensively, and as such the expense was unnecessary.

specially to the new States' areas.³ A Governor of course supported the Government's policy. At the same time, Mahtab told me that he would like the Governor to function somewhat as above party politics and the like and approach people from a neutral attitude, whatever that might be. That is to say that while Government's policy was necessarily supported, it was done from another angle and not a purely party angle. He said that this approach produced better results, more especially in the new States and the backward classes. He was, therefore, eager that the Governor should continue his tours.

These tours, in a place like Orissa and the States, where communications are difficult, are more expensive than they might otherwise be. A certain ceremony accompanies them and I think this is desirable, more especially in a place like Orissa. I think, therefore, that some time or other we might have to increase the tour expenses for the Orissa Governor, more especially as the Provincial Government wants this done. For the present this matter need not be taken up.

I have found a great deal of mutual understanding and cooperation between Asaf Ali and Mahtab. They pull on well together and appreciate each other. Asaf Ali is also good in dealing with the permanent services. He appears to be popular with the MLAs.

Orissa as a whole continues to strike me as a very promising province, full of potential resources. Unfortunately, it is so low down in the scale in many ways that without external help to begin with, it cannot get a move on. Once this help is forthcoming, it will certainly progress very fast. The province appears to be quiet from the law and order point of view, except for a small corner of Mayurbhanj and the part bordering on Midnapore district in West Bengal. There has been some trouble in the past from the ex-rulers. But that is largely over now. The Mayurbhanj trouble is chiefly caused by the Adivasis. I do not think this is really serious or anything to be alarmed about. Nevertheless it requires careful tackling. The first essential is complete co-operation with the Bihar Government. There can be little doubt that Bihar newspapers, and especially the *Searchlight*, have adopted a very hostile attitude towards the Orissa Government.⁴ Even the Bihar Government has been influenced by this attitude. I was amazed to see in a police report of the Bihar Government that during the recent firing in Mayurbhanj,⁵ a press report was quoted, saying that 1,000 people were killed and 3,000 wounded. The actual facts were that fourteen were killed. It is bad enough for the Press to give publicity to

3. 23 feudatory States, with an area of over 23,000 sq. miles, and a population of over 40.46 lakhs were merged with Orissa on 1 January 1949.

4. *Searchlight*, a daily newspaper in English published from Patna, reported on 12 February that the situation in Mayurbhanj was "panicky" and that 5,000 tribals had crossed over into Singbhum. It quoted Justin Ezra, a tribal leader, as saying that casualties in the firing were between three to four hundred, and that aid had not been given to the injured.

5. See *ante*, item 1, fn.4.

this fantastic report. It is much worse when Government reports repeat them. I understand that you have already taken the Bihar Government to task for this particular report.

I think the Bihar Government should be told quite clearly and precisely that this kind of thing is highly objectionable and that the Mayurbhanj area is going to remain in Orissa anyhow. Any encouragement of the Adivasi agitation will lead to trouble not only in Orissa, but in Bihar itself. In this connection Jaipal Singh's activities have to be carefully watched and, if necessary, curbed.⁶

There seem to be all kinds of forces behind this Adivasi agitation. There may be a few Communists also. Mahtab seems to think that some industrialists are encouraging the Adivasis for reasons of their own. How far this is true, I do not know.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

6. Jaipal Singh, leader of the Jharkhand Party and Member of the Constituent Assembly from Bihar, was associated with the Adivasi movement in Bihar, Orissa, and Mahakoshal area of the Central Provinces for a separate administrative set up for Adivasis.

3. The Government and the People¹

Orissa is poor as it had been neglected in the past. But the province has great resources and it is up to the people of Orissa to work those resources and make the province strong and prosperous by constructive and productive work in all directions.

The Government abide by their pledge on the abolition of zamindari system.² But the question of compensation is an intricate and difficult one and has to be tackled in a forthright manner.

The Government are gradually proceeding with a scheme of nationalization of key industries. Rapid implementation of the policy all over the country will

1. Address to Congressmen, Puri, Orissa, 12 March 1949. From *The Hindustan Times*, 13 March 1949.
2. The report of the Orissa Revenue and Land Tenure Committee of 1949 recommended the summary abolition of zamindari with graded compensation. This was brought into effect in 1952 by the Orissa Estates Abolition Act.

lead to considerable difficulties and may be harmful in some ways. It must be done in a proper way, and not regardless of other circumstances.

About industrialization, I can say that the Congress while standing for the development of cottage industries has never been against the industrialization of the country.

There has been a great deal of criticism of the Government but I have found that the criticism comes chiefly from certain urban sections. The rural masses react in a different way. Undoubtedly there is room for criticism in much that has been done, but equally undoubtedly there is also room for satisfaction in their achievements. Success would only come in our big undertakings by cooperation between the public and the Government organization. In this cooperation, the Congress has a great responsibility.

4. To Asaf Ali¹

New Delhi
March 26, 1949

My dear Asaf Ali,

I have received a letter from Nabakrishna Chaudhuri² saying that after thinking over what I said to him, he and his wife have agreed to accept my suggestion. That is to say that he is willing to join the Orissa Cabinet. I think he should be taken in as soon as possible and I have written to Mahtab accordingly.

During my talks with Mahtab, I mentioned rather casually that it might be desirable for him at some later stage to come to the Centre. I found that he rather welcomed the prospect. He mentioned he could do so only if Nabakrishna Chaudhuri joined the Orissa Cabinet. Unfortunately this matter has appeared in the public press, much to my annoyance. As a matter of fact, I do not intend taking any such step now. When a suitable opportunity offers itself, we shall consider it. It will be a good thing, however, for Nabakrishna Chaudhuri to be put into the Orissa Cabinet immediately.

You will remember that we were going to be given some pictures of Konarak temple when we were at Puri. But these pictures never came. If they are available, could you kindly send them to me? I shall take them with me to London for the

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Written on 22 March 1949.

Mountbattens. As you must have seen, I propose to go to London soon, on the 19th of April, for about ten days.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

IV. PUNJAB

1. To Chandulal Trivedi¹

New Delhi
17 February 1949

My dear Trivedi,

Your letter of February 15th about financing the new capital.² I have also received a letter from your Premier on this subject.

We are all anxious to see the new capital come into existence. We would like to help you, but as to our capacity to do so in the near future, is rather doubtful. Our Finance Minister will consider this matter with every desire to help. It will be for him to say how far we can go. I shall gladly receive the deputation you suggest. I imagine 27th February would be suitable. I am trying to give you as early a date as possible and convenient to you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 7(27)/47-PMS.
2. Trivedi wrote of the huge expenses and his anxiety over the maximum possible central help for financing the construction of the Punjab capital at Chandigarh.

2. To Baldev Singh¹

New Delhi
April 14, 1949

My dear Baldev Singh,

I have been wanting to see you for some days, but unfortunately no meeting could take place. I have been very busy and you have been unwell.

1. J.N. Collection.

I wanted to speak to you about East Punjab politics. As Prime Minister, I get a variety of reports from various persons—Governor, Premier as well as non-official sources. I draw the attention of the Premier to any matter demanding attention, but otherwise I try not to interfere. I have been greatly disturbed about many things happening in East Punjab.² Nevertheless I have not interfered because I feel that any interference from the Centre in provincial administration is undesirable. That interference should come only on major issues of policy. The question has been before us for some time as to how far it is not desirable to interfere in East Punjab, because things were going wrong.

In another sense, the Central Parliamentary Board of the Congress is supposed to keep in touch with the Provincial Governments.³ Naturally they do not interfere either with the day to day working and are more concerned with larger policies or serious happenings. I am not a member of the Board.

I have often heard that you have taken an intimate interest in East Punjab politics. That is natural because it is your province. But apart from being interested, any interference from a Minister of the Central Government is bound to lead to complications. A Provincial Minister will seldom override any suggestion coming from a Central Minister. This means that a Provincial Minister's responsibility for this work is lessened. In the confused state of affairs existing in East Punjab, such interference can only add to the confusion. There are unfortunately two rival groups in East Punjab and some others who seem to flit about from one group to another.

Even recently, that is, in the developments leading to Dr. Gopichand's resignation and subsequently, I am told that you took an active part in East Punjab politics. Also that you asked for the transfer of some official from one place to another.⁴ If you did so, perhaps you had some adequate reason for it. But I do feel that this is constitutionally improper and practically unwise. In view of the delicate state of affairs in East Punjab, we have to be particularly careful about

2. The Congress Party in East Punjab was split into factions, one group led by Gopichand Bhargava and the other by Bhimsen Sachar. The 23 Akali legislators, led by Giani Kartar Singh and Udharn Singh Nagoke, held the balance between the two. The Bhargava Ministry was constantly charged with nepotism, corruption, blackmarketeering and failure to rehabilitate the refugees. On 4 April 1949, Bhargava had to resign when defeated on a no-confidence motion brought by the Akalis, who withdrew their support from him and joined Sachar's faction to form a Ministry on 6 April 1949.
3. The Central Parliamentary Board of the Congress appointed in January 1949 consisted of Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Vallabhbhai Patel, Abul Kalam Azad, Rajendra Prasad, S. Nijalingappa and Kala Venkat Rao. The Board was to regulate and coordinate the activities of the Congress Legislative Party.
4. Ashwini Kumar, Superintendent of Police, was transferred from Ambala to Rohtak.

such matters. I think that the Central Government Ministers should keep away from provincial politics, except in so far as these are part of their official work.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

ADMINISTRATIVE AFFAIRS

II. Appointments

1. Economy Committee and Cabinet Decisions¹

It seems to me rather extraordinary that a decision of the Cabinet, deliberately taken after repeated discussion, should be considered as of little account, because apparently the Economy Committee has recommended that External Publicity should be retransferred to I. & B. Ministry. So long as that Cabinet decision stands, we have got to function in accordance with it. I have no doubt that it will stand. I was not aware that the Economy Committee considered it one of its functions to revise or upset Cabinet decisions. Nor was I aware of the fact that the Finance Ministry attached more importance to the recommendation of the Economy Committee than to the decision of the Cabinet. The present proposal is for an additional staff of four typists. I am informed that work is suffering for lack of these typists. Whatever the ultimate decision might be temporary arrangements should be made for this work to be done.

I suggest that this matter might be mentioned at tomorrow's meeting of the Standing Committee and then it should be referred again to the Finance Ministry.

1. Note to the Ministry of Finance, 3 March 1949. J.N. Collection.

2. Unemployment of Trained Young Men¹

I met Mr. Choksi² this evening and he told me that a considerable number of young men, who had gone for technical training in America and had returned to India, cannot find employment here. I was surprised to learn this, because I had been assured by you and others that this would not happen. Could you please let me know why these specially trained bright young men are being wasted, when we are opening so many new laboratories and institutes?

Choksi promised to send me a list of about thirty of them.

1. Note to S.S. Bhatnagar, 18 March 1949. File No. 40(25)/48-PMS.
2. J.D. Choksi.

ADMINISTRATIVE AFFAIRS
III. Accommodation

1. To Chandulal Trivedi¹

New Delhi
7 March 1949

My dear Trivedi,

I wrote to Dr. Gopichand the other day about Dalhousie.² It seems to me a great pity that we are not utilizing this very fine place. If the East Punjab Government do not propose to use it, then the Central Government will take charge of the whole station and send there the displaced persons as well as possibly some offices and laboratories there.

I understand that there are some convents which are lying empty. I do not see why they should not be handed over to the old nuns who can start schools there.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 1 (358)/49-PMS.
2. Dalhousie, a hill station and military cantonment in East Punjab (now in Himachal Pradesh), was virtually deserted in 1948, because it was thought to be too close to the Indo-Pakistan border.

2. Housing for Peons¹

A few days ago the Cabinet considered a note on housing for peons. There was a slight difference of opinion as to whether single rooms should be provided or two rooms. The Cabinet came to a decision that at least two rooms should be provided for married peons and that these rooms should have separate kitchens and lavatories.

I have just seen the plans for the building of peons quarters as well as others for the new capital at Bhubaneshwar in Orissa.² Here rooms have been

1. Note circulated to Ministries of Health, Housing and Labour, 9 March 1949. File No. 45(15)/49-PMS.
2. It was decided to shift the capital of Orissa from Cuttack to Bhubaneshwar in September 1946. The new capital, designed by O.H. Koenigsberger, was inaugurated on 8 June 1949.

provided for the married peons and dormitories for single peons. Each dormitory accommodates ten persons and there is a community room attached to the dormitory. There is a common kitchen and lavatories etc. outside.

I think that we should encourage the building of these community buildings at least for single persons. Each person really gets more space that way and more convenience and it would be cheaper for him to live there. Small tiny rooms or cells, whether you give one or two, are not attractive or convenient. There may be some slight objection to living in them because of our separatist habits. But that can be got over as it is being got over in Orissa. This applies to single persons.

I think that lavatories should always be outside the main block whether for single men or married quarters. This will save space and will be cheaper and more sanitary.

3. To Amrit Kaur¹

New Delhi

14 March 1949

My dear Amrit,

Your letter of March 9th about Dalhousie.² I am sending you a note I have received from the Ministry of Defence on this subject.³ You will see that they are not prepared to give up for good any of their barracks round about Dalhousie. But they are prepared to let us have the temporary use of them. Do you think you could use them in this way? This means probably that we can have the buildings for at least a year and may be two.

As for the proposal to have a T.B. Sanatorium in other buildings, I cannot quite make out whether you ultimately recommend it or not. It is for you to consider all the aspects of this matter and then make some final recommendations which we can consider.

Yours,

Jawaharlal

1. File No. 2(358)/49-PMS.

2. Amrit Kaur had requested Nehru to allow vacant army barracks situated conveniently in Dalhousie to be used as shelter for refugees and a T.B. Sanatorium.

3. The Ministry of Defence had not agreed to the Government proposal to utilize the extensive military cantonments lying vacant in Baklow and Balun in Dalhousie.

4. To Chandulal Trivedi¹

New Delhi
15 April 1949

My dear Trivedi,

I wrote to Dr. Gopichand some time ago about Dalhousie. I think I sent you a copy of that letter. It does seem to me most unfortunate that an ideal place like Dalhousie should not be put to proper use and scores and perhaps hundreds of houses there should remain vacant when we are in such a terrible need of housing. I had suggested that the East Punjab University should establish itself there for the time being at least and till some other permanent arrangements are made. I can imagine of no better place for the University. This should also relieve pressure on you elsewhere.

Then there is the question of the East Punjab colleges in Delhi.² They are being run in a very primitive way for lack of accommodation and the Delhi authorities want to push them out. Delhi University is not prepared to take them over as they think this would lower their own standards, both residential and educational. These colleges might also well be transferred to Dalhousie.

I had suggested various other uses for Dalhousie to our Relief Ministry and our Health Department. But thus far nothing has come out of it. I think the primary charge should be that of the East Punjab Government. If the Central Government takes possession of many buildings there, then later the East Punjab Government will probably complain. If, however, the East Punjab Government clearly and definitely tells us that they cannot use the houses in Dalhousie or most of them, then we shall go ahead with our own plans.

In my previous letter I had mentioned the very fine barracks, both for British troops and Indian troops, which are round about Dalhousie. The Defence Ministry are not prepared to give them up although we are not using them at present.

I should like you to take some personal interest in this matter and find out from your Government what they propose to do. A quick decision will be helpful.

I am sending a copy of this letter to your Premier.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 2(358)/49-PMS.
2. Some East Punjab colleges were transferred temporarily to Delhi after partition where they functioned by holding evening classes for Punjab students in the buildings of Delhi University. Camp College was the only regular East Punjab College in Delhi.

ADMINISTRATIVE AFFAIRS
IV. Prime Minister's Security

1. Wrong to Close Roads¹

Nearly a month ago I went to see "Hamlet" at Regal Cinema. The Governor-General also went there on that day. We were guests of the U.K. High Commissioner. Since then I have heard on several occasions that the road in front of the cinema house was closed for three hours because of our visit. This has naturally been greatly resented not only by the public at large but members of our Party in the Legislature. This fact was specially mentioned today at the Party meeting.

I can understand security measures, but this kind of closing the road for hours is highly objectionable and if this must be done, then it is clear that the Governor-General or I should not go out anywhere at all. Will you please enquire from the persons responsible for this exactly what happened and why they persist on a course which is so obviously wrong.

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary, 7 March 1949. J.N. Collection.

2. Security Arrangements for Ministers¹

I think the time has come for a thorough revision of security arrangements for Ministers and more especially for H.E. the Governor-General, the Prime Minister, and the Deputy Prime Minister. I have repeatedly drawn attention to this fact and I believe some change has occurred. But existing arrangements are still very extraordinary and I think far more than any kind of necessity might require. That security arrangements are necessary is admitted. But there should be a limit to this kind of thing. Apart from the cost involved, there is the public reaction to it and there is the humiliation of the person whose safety is sought to be secured by these methods.

This applies not only to security arrangements in Delhi but also abroad when a Minister travels. Recently I was in Orissa, staying in Government House. It was hardly possible to move out or have any privacy because of the crowds of security men surrounding one. They invade the house. They take the place of the normal attendants, bearers, waiters, etc. in the house (with the inevitable result of inefficient service), and generally they make life a burden. A huge barrier is put up to all contacts with the public and sometimes even friends cannot come.

1. Note to Home Secretary, 15 March 1949. J.N. Collection.

Today being Holi I casually suggested that some sweets might be distributed on my behalf to the policemen and security men and other attendants in my house. I found to my amazement that we had to provide sweets for about 300 persons. I just do not know how this figure was arrived at. But it did give me a shock.

I should like to have copies of the detailed directions issued for security arrangements for Ministers in Delhi as well as when travelling and to have at the same time proposals for reducing them. It must be remembered that numbers do not necessarily add to security.

9

ADMINISTRATIVE AFFAIRS

V. General

1. To P.C. Ghosh¹

New Delhi
February 17, 1949

My dear Prafulla Babu,

I have your letter² about the judgement in the Bapu Murder Case. All of us of course have felt very deeply what the Judge has said.³ Indeed even before the Judge said it, it was clear that there was certain carelessness on the part of the police of Bombay and Delhi. But I am surprised that you should connect Sardar Patel or Morarji Desai with this matter. Anything that happens is, in strict theory, the responsibility of the Ministers concerned. In a sense it is the responsibility of the whole Government and of the Prime Minister, more especially. But Ministers do not arrange police protection and normally know nothing about it. It would be, I think, not only unfair but also very injurious for us to lay the blame for this in any way on the Ministers. The practical consequences of doing so and carrying out what you have suggested would of course be tremendous and very harmful to the country.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. In his letter, Ghosh accused Vallabhbhai Patel as Home Minister, Central Government and Morarji Desai, Home Minister, Bombay, of mishandling the situation which led to Gandhiji's death and demanded their retirement from public life.
3. The Judge's verdict was that the police had miserably failed to derive any advantage from the statements made by Madanlal soon after his arrest on January 20 after the explosion at Birla House and also from J.C. Jain's warning to Morarji. The Judge contended that "had the slightest keenness been shown in the investigation of the case at that stage (between January 20 and January 30, 1948) the tragedy, probably, could have been averted."

2. Health a National Concern¹

The attached note from the Ministry of Health should be circulated for consideration at the Cabinet meeting.²

1. Note to Cabinet Secretary, New Delhi, 25 February 1949. Cabinet Secretariat Papers.
2. The note pointed out that since health administration in every part of India was a matter of direct concern to the Central Government, a narrow view of its responsibilities, regarding it as a strictly provincial matter as the Economy Committee was doing, was incorrect.

The general principle laid down in this note appears to me so obvious that it does not need any reiteration or Cabinet consideration. I do not know what the Economy Committee has said about this matter, and so I cannot say anything about it. It was hardly in the purview of the Economy Committee to consider such general principles.

This general principle is certain overall responsibility of the Central Government for the health of the nation. While Provincial Governments will necessarily deal with health matters in their provinces, the Central Government, as in all other countries, unitary or federal, will have to expand its health activities fairly rapidly, if we have to make any progress. The Central Government will thus directly carry on various activities in connection with national health and at the same time coordinate and encourage in every way the activities of the provinces.

The Health Minister has frequently drawn my attention to the grave difficulties she is encountering because a number of vacancies in senior posts in her Ministry have not been filled. Apparently this delay is due to the fact that the Economy Committee's recommendations are being considered. Whatever those recommendations might be, it is clear that we cannot afford to have our work suffer in regard to important matters. The Health Minister has had a very heavy burden to carry and her own health is suffering as well as the work of her Ministry. If any post is considered necessary for the efficient discharge of work in the Health Ministry, that post should be filled or created.

3. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
14 March 1949

My dear Krishna,

I have received your letter of the 3rd March² together with a copy of a letter from Ratnam³ to Chanda.⁴ I know nothing about this matter and presumably the Secretary-General does not know either. I suppose Ratnam received the information from the Home Ministry and wrote in the natural course to your Deputy High Commissioner, expecting him to consult you in the matter. Owing to certain developments in India, more especially during the last month or so, there has been

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. The letter referred to an earlier one of 26 February in which Krishna Menon wrote of a complaint of disloyalty received against an officer of the High Commission in London.
3. S. Ratnam, Officer of the Indian Audit and Accounts Service; Government of India.
4. Ashok K. Chanda, Deputy High Commissioner for India in the U.K.

a good deal of feeling regarding sabotage and secret information getting out. Some rules are being framed to deal with such cases. Generally speaking, action is not supposed to be taken, unless there are reasonable grounds for suspecting an individual.⁵ Even then it is proposed that some kind of an enquiry might be held.

I shall enquire further into this matter. Meanwhile, you need not take any step as suggested.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

5. The complaint against the officer was based on a secret police report which accused him of attending meetings of a society of Indian Socialists.

4. To Gopinath Bardoloi¹

New Delhi
March 17, 1949

My dear Bardoloi,

A proposal has been made to me by Shri Chaliha² that a pension of Rs. 150/- a month should be granted to Gaidilieu Rani of Naga Hills and further that a house for her should be constructed at Kohima.³ I should like your reactions to this matter. As you know I have taken an interest in this lady for a long time past and I think it would be in the fitness of things for us to do something for her. I should like to know if she is completely free now or if there are any restrictions. I do not myself see why there should be any restriction whatever. On the whole a grant of a pension would be desirable after all the suffering she has undergone.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Bimla Prasad Chaliha (1912-1971); participated in freedom movement; elected to Assam Assembly, 1946; Parliamentary Secretary, 1947; General Secretary of Assam P.C.C., 1950; President of Assam P.C.C., 1952; elected to Lok Sabha, 1953; Chief Minister of Assam, 1957 to 1970 when he resigned on grounds of health.
3. Gaidilieu Rani of Naga hills, aged 19, encouraged by the news of Gandhiji's civil disobedience campaign, had raised the banner of independence and called on her people to rally around her. The uprising was brutally crushed by the British and Gaidilieu was arrested and sentenced to transportation for life in 1932. She was released after independence at Nehru's initiative. Also see *Selected Works* (First Series), Vol. 8, pp. 501-502.

5. To S.S. Bhatnagar¹

New Delhi
18 March 1949

My dear Bhatnagar,

I still think that the tour expenses are very heavy. Indeed I think that our way of conducting business is much too top heavy and we should try to reduce overhead and travelling charges as much as possible.

I realize that conferences have to be attended and are often important. Nevertheless I have a growing fear that many of our scientists spend more time than they need in travelling about in India and abroad. Some kind of balance has to be struck between work at home and travelling. Ultimately it is the work at home that counts, though travelling abroad might be necessary. Therefore, unless it is absolutely necessary, we should try to limit our visits abroad.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.

6. Dress for Formal Functions¹

Sometime back, at my instance, the Home Ministry sent a circular to Provincial Governors, Governments, etc., as well as to officers of the Central Government, laying down some general rules for formal dress. These were in the nature of recommendations. I believe that it was suggested that either a black *sherwani* and white *churidar* pyjamas should be used, or black button-up coats and white trousers.

While these general rules might be adhered to, I think it might be stated that instead of black *sherwanis* or coats, white *sherwanis* or coats are permissible in summer. The Governor of the United Provinces complained to me of his black *sherwani* which was rather unsuited for the warm weather that is coming in. I told him that he should certainly use a white silk or white khadi *sherwani*. The same applied to coats.

Please inform the Home Ministry of this.

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary, 4 April 1949. File No. 2(154)/48-PMS.

7. On the Messenger Service System¹

I have frequently drawn attention to the general appearance of disorder and uncleanness in the Secretariat corridors. There has been no improvement at all. A part of this lack of tidiness and decorum is due to the hordes of chaprasis, who lounge about these corridors. It seems to me clear that the present system is a wrong one, apart from being inefficient.

Shri Zachariah,² the head of the Historical Section of the E.A. Ministry, has recently visited London and Washington and at our request, has sent me a note about the messenger service system in the British and American Foreign Offices. I am sending a copy of this note. I shall be glad if this whole question of not only improving and making more efficient our messenger system but also clearing up of our corridors is looked into and suggestions made for improvement.

1. Note to Home Minister, 11 April 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. Kuruwila Zachariah (1889-1955); Principal, Hooghly College and Islamia College, Calcutta; Director of Public Instruction, Bengal; Planning Adviser for Education, Bengal; member, Federal Public Service Commission; Additional Secretary and Director of Historical Research, Ministry of External Affairs, 1949-1953.

8. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
April 14, 1949

My dear Rajaji,

You know that sometime back orders were issued by the Government of India that in future no reference should be made in official documents to titles against the names of any Indians.

The Government of Bombay have now enquired whether such titles should be given in invitations issued by the Governor or the Premier of Bombay.

This question must apply even more to Government House here. It seems to me that there is no particular distinction between the two cases and that a certain uniformity is desirable in practice. Perhaps in certain types of official documents issued on behalf of the King the titles should be mentioned. But in normal invitations

1. File No. 2(287)/48-PMS.

to parties, at homes, dinners, etc., that necessity does not exist and we might as well drop the titles.

I shall be grateful to have your views in this matter.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

9. Misbehaviour of Customs Staff¹

I enclose a telegram from Shri Agnibhoj, Minister, C.P. & Berar.² I shall be grateful if you will kindly enquire into this matter immediately and if it is true that the Customs staff has misbehaved, he should be made to apologize.

2. This, however, raises wider issues. We have had these complaints before, more especially about foreigners coming to India. Some time back I think Shri Girija Shankar Bajpai addressed the Commerce Ministry on this subject. The United Nations Kashmir Commission was returning from Europe with him and they were not treated properly by the Customs officials. There is a lack of courtesy which is exceedingly irritating to the persons concerned. It is important that our Customs people, while carrying out the directions given to them, should behave with efficiency and courtesy and not keep people waiting for hours. It is particularly important that foreign visitors should be treated properly. Of course, so far as diplomats are concerned, they are normally free from Customs regulations.

1. Note to the Ministry of Commerce, 17 April 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. Rameshwar Agnibhoj, lawyer and politician; imprisoned in 1930 and 1940. Minister of Public Works, Madhya Pradesh, 1946-49.

10. Telegram to B.G. Kher¹

I have received several telegrams from well-known writers informing that Bombay Government has seized their passports and prevented their departure for Paris to

1. New Delhi, 17 April 1949. J.N. Collection.

attend some Peace Congress there.² I have also received protest from Professor Joliot Curie³, an eminent scientist of Paris. Could you kindly look into this matter, as prominent men are involved.

2. Ali Sardar Jafri, Secretary of the Progressive Writers' Association was arrested and the passports of some others were seized by the Bombay Government on 10 April 1949, on the eve of their departure for Paris to attend the World Peace Congress to be held on 20 April 1949.
3. Frederic Joliot-Curie (1900-1958); he and his wife received a joint Nobel Prize in 1935 for discovering artificial radioactivity. He was member of the French Communist Party.

11. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
April 18, 1949

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter of the 15th April about titles being mentioned in official papers etc.² After that, you will remember, we had a talk about this also. The position now is that except in certain official documents issued on behalf of the King and in reference to the King, where the title should be mentioned, in other places it should not be mentioned. That is to say that in normal invitations or mention of names or so-called court circulars titles should be left out. Of course, this refers to Indians only. Non-Indians should be given their titles.

The question is not a very important one, but a certain uniformity is desirable and the question put to us has to be answered.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. File No. 2(287)/48-PMS.

2. Rajagopalachari agreed with Nehru that titles be mentioned in official documents issued on behalf of the King, as well as in communicating any appointment of non-Indians with titles conferred by him. He added, "I have no views beyond this. I am rather inclined to consider it all unimportant."

10

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

I. Indonesia's Freedom

1. Cable to C.R. Attlee¹

Many thanks for your message regarding Indonesia which was conveyed to me yesterday by your High Commissioner in New Delhi. Appreciate the spirit of cooperation which the message reflects and shall give you my comments with complete candour.

I fully subscribe to your estimate of the dangers (i) and (iii) described in para 4 of your message. I confess, however, that I do not share the view that the attitude of the Indonesians constitutes an obstacle to a peaceful and lasting solution of the problem of Indonesia. As you probably know we were not quite satisfied with the resolution adopted by the Security Council on 28.1.49.² It fell short in several respects of the very moderate resolution adopted by the Delhi Conference. Nevertheless, we felt that nothing should be done to interfere with the acceptance by both parties of the Council's resolution. In effect although more than a fortnight has passed the Dutch have done absolutely nothing to give effect to that resolution. The Republican leaders continue under detention. The Dutch now refuse to recognize them as constituting a Government and deny them opportunities to function as a Government even in the very limited area proposed by the Security Council. According to such information as we have, and we regard it as accurate, the Dutch policy is to play-off the Federalists³ against the Republicans to describe the former as more representative of Indonesian nationalism than the Republicans and to bypass the Security Council by presenting to the world a plan which, while ostensibly creating a free Government of Indonesia, would vest overriding authority on many vital subjects in the hands of the Dutch High Commissioner or supreme representative in Indonesia. I think you will agree that the Republicans cannot be expected to cooperate in the consummation of any such plan nor can they be expected to put much faith in Dutch pronouncements or promises unless they are

1. New Delhi, 18 February 1949. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. The Security Council, meeting at Lake Success from 21 to 28 January, passed a resolution calling for immediate and unconditional release of political prisoners; discontinuance of military operations on the part of the Dutch and of guerilla warfare on the part of the Republic; reinstatement of the Republican Government in Jogjakarta; opening of negotiations between the two parties on the basis of the Linggadjati and Renville Agreements and the Cochran proposals of September 1948, by which elections would follow and not precede the formation of an interim government and the proposed federation would have independent militia and the Netherlands High Commissioner would have power to veto legislation with a view to the formation of an Interim Federal Government by 15 March 1949; holding elections for the Constituent Assembly; and transfer of sovereignty by 1 July 1950.
3. The Federalist Party was created by the Dutch in January 1948.

satisfied that any plan to which they may agree will be implemented. Dutch conduct in the past does not justify the hope that left to themselves they will work for the early establishment of a fully self-governing State of Indonesia.

From my contacts with responsible Indonesian leaders both through our representative in Batavia and directly here I am satisfied that they are as anxious to combine their own freedom with stability in the Far East as anyone else. The success with which they suppressed the Communist rising⁴ is proof, in my view, both of their sense of responsibility and of their capacity to govern. If a weak and inexperienced administration is set up for the normal control of Indonesia, it will not be because of fulfilment of legitimate nationalist aspirations but from persistence by the Dutch in policies which, by frustrating nationalism, prolong strife and lawlessness. We shall always be ready to counsel reason to Indonesian leaders but the Dutch must give satisfactory proof (i) that they really wish to see a free Government of Indonesia established (ii) that it is done by negotiations and with the full consent of those who represent Indonesian nationalist opinion. We regard the Republican leaders as true representatives of Indonesian nationalism and (iii) the Dutch accept supervision by a duly authorized body of the United Nations of the implementation of any agreement that may be reached.

4. In September 1948 the Communists in Indonesia captured Madoera, third largest town in Indonesia, near Jogjakarata and proclaimed a "Soviet Republic." President Soekarno denounced the Communist action, imposed martial law, and banned all left-wing organizations and journals. Several thousand Communists were killed and many imprisoned after a full-scale army operation. By October all the Communist strongholds were recaptured.

2. Cable to Zafrullah Khan¹

Many thanks for your telegram No. 901 dated 2nd March. The Dutch Ambassador² approached us two days ago and suggested we might appeal to the

1. New Delhi, 3 March 1949. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. A.T. Lamping.

Republicans to take part in the Round Table Conference³ announced by the Dutch in Indonesia. Foreign Minister Maramis⁴ and his colleague Soedarsono whom we confidentially consulted do not favour participation because they feel that Dutch move is designed to bypass Security Council. Our provisional view, in spite of Dutch Ambassador's assurance that his Government is sincere in desire to transfer power to Indonesians as quickly as possible, is that plan is manoeuvre to bypass Security Council and to weaken even such support as powers like U.S.A. have been giving to the Republicans by seemingly liberal offer which can be represented as differing from Security Council resolution only in shifting venue of negotiation to The Hague and substituting Dutch Government for U.N. Commission⁵ guiding authority in negotiation. Our reading of Dutch plan differs from the Council's resolution in the following important respects.

I. There is no mention of immediate discontinuance by the Dutch of military operations.

II. Though Republican leaders are to be released there is no mention of intention to facilitate immediate return of officials of Government of Republic of Indonesia to Jogjakarta in order that they may *inter alia* exercise their appropriate function in full, freely including administration of Jogjakarta area. On the contrary, according to our information from Batavia, Dutch have explicitly refused to carry out this direction of Council.

III. Formation of Interim Government which was to have been set up not later than 15th March is also to be the subject of negotiation at The Hague.

IV. Negotiations are not to be only between representatives of the Government of the Netherlands and representatives of the Republic of Indonesia but Federalists are also to be brought in. Sting of this lies not so much in inclusion of Federalists but in refusal to treat Republicans as representatives of a Government. Inclusion of Federalists also provides Dutch with opportunity to play off Federalists against Republicans.

V. Role of U.N. Commission in negotiations is vague. Instead of negotiations being conducted under the auspices of the Commission, as Council presumably

3. The Round Table Conference was proposed to be held at The Hague on 12 March 1949, to discuss the conditions for and the method by which the earliest possible transfer of sovereignty could be effected; and the Netherlands and Indonesian Union established; and what arrangements should be made for the intermediary period.
4. Amrin Sartono Maramis, Foreign Minister of Republican Emergency Government, Indonesia, 1949-50; Ambassador to Philippines, 1950-53; Ambassador to West Germany, 1953-56; Ambassador to U.S.S.R., 1957.
5. The U.N. Consular Commission (consisting of American, Australian, Belgian, British, Chinese and French Consuls General in Batavia) was appointed by the Security Council to maintain contact with both the Netherlands East Indies Government in Batavia and the Government of the Indonesian Republic in Jogjakarta.

intended, Dutch are to take charge of negotiations, presumably leaving to Commission secondary and advisory role.

When Dutch Ambassador called on us to appeal to us to persuade Republicans to accept Dutch proposal he said that his assumption was that representative of Dutch Government would preside over proposed negotiations at The Hague.

We have instructed our representative in New York to point all this out to members of the Security Council who are sympathetically disposed towards Republic and do what he can to prevent the Dutch manoeuvre succeeding in making the Republicans, if they refuse to take part in the Round Table Conference, appear unreasonable and intransigent. I entirely share your view that we should insist upon negotiation of the Security Council's resolution. Compared to the resolutions adopted in New Delhi, this was even more moderate and I do not think that we should take the initiative in suggesting that any watering down of it would be acceptable to any of the Governments that participated in the Delhi Conference. In our view, if there is unanimity amongst us in insisting upon compliance with the Council's own resolution, the Council will be more disposed to adopt a strong attitude towards Dutch non-compliance than if there were any hints of yielding on our part.

According to such reports as we have from Batavia, Cochran⁶, U.S. member of the U.N. Indonesian Commission, while favouring adoption by the Republicans of a policy of leaving the door open always for future negotiations, holds to the view, at least privately, that the Council's resolution which suggests proceeding stage by stage is the only possible way of solving the Indonesian problem. Both Cochran and Critchley,⁷ Australian member of U.N.C.I., advised that we should use every effort to induce Security Council to implement their resolution of 28th January.

The Dutch Ambassador also enquired whether we should permit resumption of the K.L.M. service though no reference was made to convenience which such steps would provide for delegation wishing to attend proposed conference at The Hague. We have told him that until agreement between The Hague and the Republicans is reached we are unlikely to remove ban on service.

I am asking heads of our diplomatic missions in capitals of participants in Delhi Conference where we are diplomatically represented to support our efforts

6. Merle H. Cochran (1892-1973); U.S. representative to U.N. Good Offices Committee for Indonesia, 1948; Ambassador to Pakistan, 1949; Ambassador to Indonesia, 1949-53; Director, International Monetary Fund, 1953-73.

7. T.K. Critchley (b. 1916); Australian diplomat; Australian representative, U.N. Committee of Good Offices on Indonesia, 1948-49; Member, U.N. Commission for Indonesia, 1949-50.

to persuade Council to insist upon implementation of its own resolution and hope that you will do likewise.⁸

8. The substance of this cable was also conveyed to the Governments of Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Iran, China, Siam, New Zealand and to General Romulo.

3. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Your strictly personal telegram No. 5269 dated 12th March. It is not easy to follow Bevin's letter² fully without knowledge of conditions on which Dutch might be disposed to permit Republican leaders to return to Jogjakarta (paragraph six of your telegram).³ If possible I should like these communicated to us. I do not, however, wish request for information at this stage to be construed as readiness to modify our present stand which is that Council should not discuss Dutch plan for Round Table Conference till Republicans return to Jogjakarta unconditionally and can transfer there as Government.

1. New Delhi, 14 March 1949. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. In his cable Krishna Menon quoted Bevin's letter recently sent to the Dutch Foreign Minister suggesting that, if the Netherlands Government allowed the Republicans to return to Jogjakarta on the condition of their declaring a ceasefire and willingness to attend the Round Table Conference at The Hague to discuss the question of the transfer of sovereignty with the Federalists and the Netherlands Government, the Security Council would not have to take further action at its meeting to be held on 10 March. He added that the British Government had to support the resolutions passed by the Security Council on 24 December 1948 and 28 January 1949.
3. In this paragraph Bevin had referred to the conditions on which the Netherlands Government "might be disposed to permit Republican leaders to return to Jogjakarta", but he refused to comment on those conditions, and hoped that the United Nations Commission on Indonesia would be invited to assist in reaching an agreement.

4. Canadian Proposal in the U.N.O.¹

I do not like the approach suggested by B.R. Sen in the attached telegram. This attempt to be clever by appearing to accept something and adding some qualifying conditions, usually results in failure. I think that the Canadian proposal² is thoroughly bad and there is no reason why we should support it in any way whatever, even with qualifications. I feel that even if Palar³ agrees to what B.R. Sen says, there is no sufficient reason for our agreeing. Our general attitude in Security Council appears to me to have been weaker than Australia's.⁴ I think it should be stiffened up and we should not delude ourselves that we are calling anybody's bluff by agreeing to something which is not desirable in itself.

1. Note to Secretary-General, 18 March 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. Canada proposed to the U.N. Indonesian Commission (10-13 March 1949) to bring the Netherlands and Indonesian representatives together in a preliminary conference, and to enforce the Council's previous decisions relating to a ceasefire, the return of the Republican Government to Jogjakarta and the release of all political prisoners of the Dutch forces.
3. L.N. Palar, Permanent Representative of Indonesia in the United Nations.
4. Australia called for immediate halt of hostilities and prompt release of President Soekarno and other Indonesian leaders. It instructed the Good Offices Committee to report to the Council on the events in Indonesia since 19 December 1948 and to observe and report on the compliance of the parties.

5. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
21 March 1949

My dear Krishna,

Your telegram No. 5465 of 20/3 has just come. I was myself surprised at Chifley's² statement.³ Anyhow we are going to steer clear of this business. There

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. J.B. Chifley was the Prime Minister of Australia at this time.
3. On 11 March he said that "an opportunity had been offered which should have been accepted by both parties to reach a compromise settlement in Indonesia." Australia's policy had never changed in regard to the Netherlands. "There have been slight differences from time to time but that is to be expected."

are many reasons for this but for the moment Indonesia is by itself quite sufficient. I am quite sure that there would be an uproar in India if we agreed to any such Pacific Pact.⁴

About my visit to London, I should like to avoid too many public functions—receptions and the like.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

4. In March 1949, the British Press reported that preliminary talks had already taken place for a pact in the Pacific, establishing a common front against Russia and communism. Reference was made to cooperation of the Netherlands and even to India's participation in such a pact.

6. Indonesia in the Security Council¹

Reference attached telegram from B.R. Sen. As India and Australia are formally applying for the inclusion of the Indonesian question in the Agenda of the General Assembly, nothing further need be done at present.² But I do not like the attitude taken up by China, Iran, Egypt and Lebanon in this matter and their fear that this step may amount to criticism of the Security Council. I do not see why we should be afraid of this. Indeed it is meant as a criticism, as we are thoroughly dissatisfied with what the Security Council has done.³ We cannot possibly remain silent and just wait for the Security Council to be a little more generous. Indeed the question to be considered by us is what other steps we should take in the matter, that is, in

1. Note to Secretary-General, 31 March 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. India and Australia wrote to the Secretary-General on 30 and 31 March 1949, requesting inclusion of the Indonesian question in the agenda of the General Assembly's session in May.
3. The Security Council met from 10 to 23 March to discuss the Indonesian question, and accepted the main objection raised by the Netherlands representative about the restoration of the Republican Government at Jogjakarta and agreed to the Netherlands' suggestions for an all-party Round Table Conference at The Hague to arrange for the transfer of sovereignty within a few months; simultaneous establishment of the Netherlands Indonesian Union, and for the formation of a representative federal government for the whole Indonesia. The Republic of Indonesia had no trust in the Dutch proposals.

relation to the Conference on Indonesia. At one time it was suggested that we might have an informal meeting of participants in New Delhi. Do you think this is feasible or desirable before we leave for London? On the whole I am inclined to think that it might be worthwhile.

In any event our representative at Lake Success should know exactly how we feel about this matter.

7. Cable to C.R. Attlee¹

Many thanks for your Circ.H-174 dated 5th April.² I sincerely hope that discussions between Dutch and Indonesians will open in Batavia soon. As you are aware, we have consistently maintained that return of Republicans to Jogjakarta with facilities to enable them to function as Government is prerequisite to any fruitful negotiations. Every day that passes makes the situation in Indonesia worse. Our Representatives, both in New York and in Batavia, have been in constant touch with Republican Representatives and may be relied upon to work for an honourable and peaceful settlement. As you know, in our view, the obstacle so far has been the unreasonable and intransigent attitude of the Dutch.

1. New Delhi, 8 April 1949. J.N. Collection.

2. In view of the failure of the Dutch authorities to establish an interim Government in Indonesia by 15 March, the Security Council met first from 10 to 13 March and again on 23 March, and adopted a resolution calling on the U.N. Indonesian Commission to bring the Netherlands and the Indonesian representatives together in a preliminary conference to enforce the Council's previous decisions relating to a ceasefire, return of the Republican Government to Jogjakarta, and the release of all political prisoners. Accordingly, the preliminary conference opened at Batavia on 15 April 1949.

10

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

II. Bilateral Relations

I. Burma

1. To A.G. Bottomley¹

New Delhi
February 18, 1949

My dear Bottomley,²

We have now heard from our Ambassador in Rangoon on the two points that were referred to him, namely:

- (1) mediation
- (2) the holding of a Commonwealth Conference for consideration of financial aid to Burma.

As regards mediation, the Ambassador has reported that Burmese public opinion is incensed against Karens and Karens are very distrustful of the Burmese. The Government of Burma demand unconditional surrender and the disarming of all Karens. Karens, on the other hand, insist on immediate recognition of a separate Karen State, on their armed men being recognized as Units of the Burmese Army, on a general amnesty and on the formation of a Coalition Government. The Government of Burma are confident that they can beat the Karens. The Karens, according to information available to our Ambassador, are equally confident of their ability to defend themselves. Although Thakin Nu appreciates the importance that I urged upon him in my message of a solution by conciliation rather than coercion, he feels that there is no immediate prospect of peace with the Karens. The Ambassador's conclusion is that any mediation at present is not likely to bear fruit.

About Commonwealth aid, the Ambassador has been informed both by Thakin Nu and the Foreign Minister that the Government of Burma have no objection to the holding of a Commonwealth Conference to consider the giving of such aid nor would there be any objection to receiving a loan from the Commonwealth. The Ambassador's view, however, is that the Government of Burma would not easily agree to conditions such as the appointment of financial advisers. He has been in touch with his British colleague and says that, so far as he knows, your Ambassador has not mentioned anything to the Burmese Foreign Minister regarding the appointment of financial advisers.

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Arthur George Bottomley (b.1907); member of British Labour Party; Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Dominions, 1946-47; Secretary for Overseas Trade, Board of Trade, 1947-51; Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs, 1964-66; President, Britain-India Forum since 1981. Author of *Why Britain Should Join the Common Market* (1959), *Two Roads to Colonialism* (1960), *The Use and Abuse of Trade Unions* (1961), and *Commonwealth Comrades and Friends* (1986).

If you wish to have a further discussion about the situation in Burma, we shall arrange a mutually convenient time for this purpose. I thought it desirable, however, to let you have the result of our Ambassador's enquiries in writing so that you might have time to consider them yourself and, if necessary, consult your Government before we discuss the subject ourselves.

Your sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Cable to Commonwealth Prime Ministers¹

You are aware of concern of U.K. Prime Minister which I feel sure you also share over situation in Burma and of earnest desire to help present Burma Government to reestablish effective authority and restore peace. Mr. Attlee has ascertained from Burma Government that latter would be glad to accept help from Commonwealth countries and has no objection to informal conference of Commonwealth representatives being held to discuss ways and means. Our Ambassador in Rangoon whom we asked to approach Thakin Nu confirms this:

With concurrence of U.K. Government, I offer you hospitality of Government of India for Conference to meet in New Delhi.² Since problem is of direct interest to U.K. and Dominions geographically nearest to Burma, it is proposed that Conference should be limited to representatives of Australia, New Zealand, Ceylon, Pakistan and Government of India. U.K. Commissioner General for Malaya will also attend. Representatives from these countries will meet first in Delhi for preliminary discussions among themselves. As soon as these are complete, representatives of Government of Burma will join.

I hope very much that your Government will find it possible to send a Minister to Conference. In view of urgency of situation in Burma early meeting is most desirable. I myself will be away from Delhi on 1st March and 2nd March to fulfil important engagements made long ago. Any dates, preferably this month, will suit me.

If meeting takes place, some sort of public announcement will have to be made, since fact or purpose of it cannot be kept secret. Question is being studied and I shall communicate with you about it as soon as possible.

1. New Delhi, 22 February 1949. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L. This cable was sent to the Prime Ministers of Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan and Sri Lanka.
2. See *ante*, p. 259.

3. Cable to M.A. Rauf¹

Your telegram No.47 of February 22.² Loan of fighter planes and personnel to Burma. We do not think that it would be proper for us to get entangled in the fighting in Burma. That apart it would be extremely difficult for us to send armed assistance to Burma in time to be of much help to them. Our own stock of fighter planes and arms and ammunition is low and we ourselves are looking for supplies. The exact form which assistance to Burma should take will be discussed at the forthcoming conference, but I do not expect to see much effective help emerging from the conference. This, however, is only for your information. To my mind the only real way out of the present difficulties is mediation between Burmese Government and the Karens. I have not yet received any communication from Thakin Nu, but you might again informally explore the possibility of this suggestion. I entirely agree with your statement that influx of Indian army personnel in Burma would not be desirable.

1. New Delhi, 23 February 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. Rauf wrote that though Thakin Nu was keen to get armed assistance from India, it was not advisable for the Government of India to send either army personnel or fighter planes or arms and ammunitions and to get entangled in Burma's internal conflict.

4. To A.G. Bottomley¹

New Delhi
February 24, 1949

My dear Bottomley,

Such information as is coming from Burma, both from our Ambassador and through press agencies, clearly indicates that the military situation there is deteriorating to the disadvantage of Thakin Nu's Government.² It seems to me that the best way of salvaging what remains is to press Thakin Nu to accept mediation for friendly settlement with Karens. I have already asked our Ambassador in Rangoon to sound

1. J.N. Collection.
2. It was reported in the press on 23 February that the combined forces of Karens and Communists had occupied the towns of Pyinmana, Yamethin and Meiktila in Central Burma, thus gaining control of about 200 miles of road and railway connecting the capital with Mandalay.

Thakin Nu again on this point; because of the change in the military situation, he might prove more responsive. In any case, I think that this solution should be considered first when the Commonwealth meeting takes place.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Cable to Thakin Nu¹

I thank you for your letter of 20th February and am glad that you have written so freely and fully. Between friends like us, there must be complete candour.

It was never our intention to profit by Burma's present difficulties to settle matters outstanding between our two countries regarding treatment of Indian nationals and, I am sure, our Ambassador did not wish to suggest any such thing. We are anxious to give whatever help we can. Your Charge d'Affaires here brought us yesterday list of military stores you need and availability of those is being examined urgently. Whatever we can spare from our limited resources will be readily given. We also fully understand your natural desire not to agree to any partition of Burma.² For Karens to insist on any such solution would be both unpatriotic and unreasonable. What I have in mind is that, although authority of your Government must be asserted and unity of Burma preserved, legitimate Karen aspirations for autonomy within Union of Burma should receive sympathetic consideration. Since in heat of strife, Karens now might be unwilling to heed any direct approach by you for settlement by negotiation, and you yourself may consider it inexpedient to make such approach, I suggested that third party in whom you and Karens may both have confidence might offer mediation. I should be happy to offer my services for this purpose but only if you so wish and Karens show disposition to respond.

1. New Delhi, 24 February 1949. J.N. Collection.

2. It was officially announced on 24 February that the Regional Autonomy Commission, headed by U Ba, Chief Justice of Burma, had unanimously recommended that there should be a Karen State inside the Union of Burma.

6. Cable to D.S. Senanayake¹

Your telegram No. 13 dated the 22nd February.² Since Dr. Evatt, Australian Foreign Minister, is arriving in New Delhi on 28th February, I think it desirable that we should have preliminary discussion with him on situation in Burma. Mr. Bottomley, Secretary for U.K. Overseas Trade, who is here, strongly favours the idea. I hope that this will be agreeable to you and that, if you cannot send Minister to take part in talks with Dr. Evatt, you will instruct your High Commissioner here to represent you. We shall, of course, report to you result of talk with Dr. Evatt.

1. New Delhi, 24 February 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. Senanayake wanted Nehru to initiate discussion on the question of assistance to Burma with Australia and England in New Delhi.

7. Cable to Liaquat Ali Khan¹

Your telegram No. 788 dated 23rd February.² Since Dr. Evatt, Australian Foreign Minister, is arriving in New Delhi on 28th February, I think it desirable that we should have preliminary discussion with him on situation in Burma. Mr. Bottomley, Secretary for U.K. Overseas Trade, who is here, strongly favours the idea. I hope that this will be agreeable to you and that, if you cannot send Minister to take part in talks with Dr. Evatt, you will instruct your High Commissioner here to represent you. We shall, of course, report to you result of talk with Evatt.

2. Terms of public announcement to be made will be communicated to you for comment.

1. New Delhi, 24 February 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. Liaquat Ali wrote agreeing to the proposed conference of Commonwealth representatives to discuss the matter of assistance to the Burmese Government. He suggested 27 and 28 February as dates of the conference and agreed to a public announcement of that.

8. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
24 February 1949

My dear Krishna,

As you have been informed, we have agreed to a conference on Burma in New Delhi. I must confess that I do not see what the conference can do. So far as we are concerned, we have made it perfectly clear that we are totally unable to give any financial help except on one condition, that is, some help might go out of our frozen sterling balances. The situation in Burma has rapidly deteriorated and it is doubtful if any financial help will go far. Some days ago I suggested to Thakin Nu some kind of a mediation between the Burmese and the Karens. He sent me a very good reply appreciating the offer, but pointing out that it was difficult. Now the situation is worse and I have again repeated my original suggestion. I see no way out in Burma except through mediation between the Burmese and the Karens. The alternative is just chaos and anarchy and misery.

Dr. Evatt is passing through Delhi on the 28th February and intends staying two or three days. I asked him to come here a little later as I am going to be away on March 1st and 2nd.² But he has been unable to change the date. I shall meet him on the 28th February and we have suggested that we might have an informal talk during his presence here on Burma. We have invited Pakistan and Ceylon to be present also.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. Nehru went to Allahabad for two days.

9. Cable to Peter Fraser¹

Thank you for your telegram No. 7 of February 24th. Since Dr. Evatt is passing through New Delhi on 28th February, I decided at suggestion of Mr. Bottomley

1. New Delhi, 25 February 1949. J.N. Collection.

that we should profit by opportunity to discuss informally with him Burma situation. I have also asked Pakistan and Ceylon to take part in this conversation through their representatives. I shall telegraph result of preliminary exchange of views to you and hope to indicate then likely programme of proposed conference.

10. Conference on Burma¹

I think that any press statement to be issued now in connection with the preliminary informal meeting on the 28th February should be confined to that meeting and should not refer to the other conference which it is proposed to hold later. A press communique to the following effect might be issued:²

The Governments of the United Kingdom, India and Pakistan have followed with anxious interest recent developments in Burma. Apart from the wider issues involved, the export of Burmese rice may be affected. These Governments have been in close touch with the Burmese Government. As Dr. Evatt, Minister for External Affairs, Australia, will be in New Delhi on the 28th February and the U.K. Minister for Overseas Trade is in New Delhi now, it is proposed to hold an informal meeting on the 28th February to consider the situation in Burma. The Government of India have invited the Governments of Pakistan and Ceylon to send representatives to this informal meeting on the 28th.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 25 February 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. The press communique was issued on 26 February.

11. Cable to Thakin Nu¹

As our Ambassador will have informed you, we are taking advantage of Dr. Evatt's

1. New Delhi, 26 February 1949. J.N. Collection.

visit to New Delhi on 28th to talk to him informally about situation in Burma. Although other forms of aid will be discussed, I propose to lay special emphasis on possibilities, of course on personal level and with your agreement, of mediation. I have dealt with this in my reply to your letter dated 20th February.

If support for idea of mediation should be forthcoming and you yourself should be agreeable to it, it will be necessary to have personal discussion on practical details. I can well understand your difficulty in coming here, much as I should like to meet you. Since our Legislature is in session, I regret that I cannot get away either. I hope, however, that in the event of your agreeing to explore possibilities of mediation, you will be able to depute someone for discussion with me in New Delhi. I thought that I should put this suggestion to you now as whatever action is taken should be with your full concurrence and cooperation. I shall, of course, send you complete report of our discussions with Evatt and others.

12. Cable to D.S. Senanayake¹

Your telegram dated 26th February.² Stopping “present fratricidal warfare between Thakin Nu’s Government and Karens as preliminary step to anything else which may be considered as a solution for Burma’s ills” is also my primary and principal objective. For your information, I may say that I have impressed upon Thakin Nu the importance of making peace with the Karens and have also offered my mediation as the only method of preparing the ground for a peaceful and lasting solution of Burma’s problems. I am happy to think that substantially you hold the same view.

1. New Delhi, 27 February 1949. J.N. Collection.

13. Cable to Liaquat Ali Khan¹

Your telegram No. 833 dated 25th February.² At today's informal meeting, which Dr. Evatt (Australia), U.K. (Mr. Bottomley and Mr. Malcolm MacDonald), Ceylon High Commissioner in New Delhi attended, it was unanimously agreed that surest and quickest way of restoring peace and prosperity to Burma is to put end to present strife through conciliation and, to this end, to recommend to Thakin Nu that each participating Government should nominate representative to group which, subject to agreement of Government of Burma, would go to that country to explore ways and means of bringing about peaceful settlement. We all hope very much that, if Burma Government accept this recommendation, you will find it possible to nominate representative to visiting group.

1. New Delhi, 28 February 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. Liaquat Ali wrote, "The Government of Pakistan have been in close consultation with Government of Burma and with the Governments of India and U.K. over recent developments in Burma. It is proposed to have a formal meeting of certain Commonwealth countries very shortly to consider the situation." and Pakistan would attend.

14. Cable to M.A. Rauf¹

Please inform Thakin Nu:

Informal meeting of representatives of Australia, Ceylon, India, and U.K. took place today. Australia was represented by her Foreign Minister, Dr. Evatt, U.K. by Mr. Bottomley, Secretary of Overseas Trade and Ceylon by her High Commissioner. Ceylon's Prime Minister, Mr. Senanayake was most anxious to attend but could not do so owing to exigencies of Parliamentary business. Mr. Malcolm Macdonald, U.K. Commissioner-General for South East Asia and Australian High Commissioner in New Delhi were also present. I represented India.

1. New Delhi, 28 February 1949. J.N. Collection.

Meeting was deeply appreciative of difficulties confronting Government of Burma and expressed earnest desire of each of Governments represented to assist you to overcome them. It was unanimously felt that surest and quickest way of restoring peace and prosperity to Burma is to put end to present strife through conciliation. For this purpose meeting decided to recommend that each participating Government should nominate representative to group which, subject to your agreement, would go out to Burma to explore ways and means of bringing about a peaceful settlement. We sincerely hope that this proposal will commend itself to you. As I have already told you, and you have been good enough to express agreement in this view, the sword alone cannot resolve any human problem. If conciliation will provide a lasting solution, the sooner we resort to it the better. In conclusion, I should like to assure you that all my colleagues in today's discussion were animated by spirit of genuine disinterested friendship towards Burma and that we are in complete accord with your view that any solution that we seek must safeguard the unity and integrity of Burma. Ends.

Pakistan was unable to send representatives. We are informing Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan of recommendation contained in foregoing message to Thakin Nu and hope that Pakistan Government may find it possible to associate themselves with it. You may inform Thakin Nu orally of this. We also hope that New Zealand may be able to join.

15. Situation in Burma and Indonesia¹

I would like to refer to a proposal of the Ministry which had been turned down by the Finance Ministry mainly on the ground that the Economy Committee had recommended that external publicity should be transferred back to the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. After prolonged and careful consideration of the pros and cons of the question, the Cabinet has decided that external publicity can be conducted best from the Ministry of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations. The requirements of external publicity are different from those of internal publicity. External publicity has, necessarily, to keep pace with the day to day

1. New Delhi, 4 March 1949. Remarks at a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Legislature for the Ministry of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations. M.E.A. and C.R. File No. 46-70/49-BCI(B), N.A.I. Extracts.

developments in relation with the countries concerned and the officers responsible for external publicity have, therefore, to remain in constant touch with the Ministry of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations who alone are in a position to issue directives on the policy to be adopted in the preparation and presentation of publicity material. The practice in most foreign countries is for external publicity, to be done through the Ministry of External Affairs. The Standing Committee agrees that for the reasons given, the existing arrangement should continue.

Thakin Nu, the Prime Minister of Burma, has been kept in touch with the deliberations of the recent Commonwealth Conference in New Delhi.² He has in fact sent to Delhi his representative, the Attorney General of Burma, to discuss matters.³ Thakin Nu has gone as far as he can to bring about an agreement between the Karens and the Government party, but this has so far produced no result.⁴ The Government of India are interested in seeing the early restoration of peace in Burma and the emergence of a strong and friendly Government in that country. Apart from political considerations, the future of several hundred thousand Indians settled in Burma is involved. So far fortunately Indians have not been subjected to any attacks, but they had to come away from Insein leaving all their property behind. The Government of India has given such assistance as is possible in the rehabilitation of these people in other parts of Burma. Although the British Government has been asked by the Burma Government for financial assistance, the Government of India has received no such request. Fortunately the trouble in Burma is no way near the Indian border though there had been some infiltration of Communists into Assam and Bengal. One or two British officers are reported to have been helping the Karens.⁵ They are not there, however, with the blessing of their Government who has in fact condemned their activities.

The Security Council's resolution has asked the United Nations Commission to report on the situation in Indonesia by the 15th of February last. At their request for more time, the Security Council has extended the period for the submission of the report by a fortnight. A report has now been submitted by the Commission. In the meantime, the Netherlands Government has called a Round Table Conference

2. The Commonwealth Conference on Burma, held at New Delhi on 28 February 1949, considered the questions of a Commonwealth loan to Burma, mediation between the Burmese and the Karens, and the restoration of peace. It was unanimously decided to send a joint communication to the Prime Minister of Burma with suggestion for exploring ways and means of finding peaceful settlement.
3. U Chan Tun, the Attorney General to the Burmese Government, met Nehru at New Delhi in March to discuss the reactions of the Burmese Government on the outcome of the informal Commonwealth Conference in New Delhi on the Burmese situation.
4. See item 6, fn.2.
5. For example, Col. J.C. Tulloch and Alexander Campbell, both of whom had served in Burma during the Second World War, were said to be assisting the Karens in instigating and organizing the rebellion.

at The Hague and it is clear that this conference is intended to bypass the Security Council's resolution. The Indonesian leaders have not accepted this invitation and a good many countries hold the view that the Netherlands Government is not acting in conformity with her obligations as a member of the United Nations, in attempting to bypass the Security Council's resolutions. Dr. Evatt, the Australian Foreign Minister, on his recent visit to Delhi, has also condemned the attitude of the Dutch Government. The Government of India are in touch with all those countries which have participated in the New Delhi Conference as also with the United Nations. Mr. Rama Rau⁶ is keeping the United States Government informed of the reactions of the Government of India and of the Indonesian leaders to developments in Indonesia and the British Government are also being kept in touch...

I agree with the suggestion.⁷ The Foreign Secretary will arrange a meeting with Mr. Desai,⁸ our Minister in Berne, who is expected to arrive in Delhi shortly. The members of the Standing Committee will meet the Attorney General of Burma privately. The Foreign Secretary will arrange such a meeting.

6. Benegal Rama Rau (1889-1969); joined I.C.S. 1913; Financial Adviser, Simon Commission, 1928-30; Joint Secretary, Industries Department, 1930-31; Deputy High Commissioner in London, 1934-38; Agent-General and High Commissioner to South Africa, 1938-41; Chairman, Bombay Port Trust, 1941-46; Ambassador to U.S.A., 1948-49; Governor, Reserve Bank of India, 1949-57.
7. A member had suggested that advantage should be taken of the visits of Indian Ambassadors and Ministers to Delhi to give them opportunities to meet the members of the Standing Committee.
8. D.B. Desai (1908-1950); Minister to Switzerland, Austria and the Vatican, 1947-1950.

16. India's Interest in Burma¹

Question: Mr. Prime Minister, what do you think about the Burmese allegation that foreign powers like Britain, Australia and India are trying to intervene in internal affairs of Burma?

Jawaharlal Nehru: You know that we took advantage of the presence here in Delhi

1. Press conference at New Delhi, 6 March 1949. *Indian Information*, January-June 1949, Vol. XXIV and the *Hindusthan Standard*, 7 March 1949.

of Mr. Bottomley, the U.K. Trade Minister, and Dr. Evatt, Foreign Minister of Australia, to invite some other representatives of Dominion Governments and to have a talk. As a result of the talk, we got into communication with the Burmese Government—of course we have been in communication with them all the time—and we expressed our earnest desire that peace might be established in Burma, and we are still in communication with them.

It is very difficult for me to say very much more about it except that all of us feel that the Prime Minister of Burma, Thakin Nu, is considering the whole question with a great deal of, shall I say, wisdom and vision. He is the outstanding figure in Burma and we feel that with his lead and under his guidance peace will be established there. Conditions are difficult there, no doubt, but ultimately it is a question for the Burmese themselves to solve.

It is always a delicate matter for any country, however friendly, to intervene in any way. So we have expressed our desire and friendly sentiments to them that we can help them whenever they think the time is fit and suitable in bringing about more amicable relations there. But it is ultimately for the Burmese Government themselves to decide what step and when they will take.

Question: Help in the military sense?

JN: The question of help in the military sense has not arisen at all.

Q: May I know between whom is mediation sought in Burma?

JN: You are talking about mediation. I do not know if it is the correct word to be used. What happens is this, generally sometimes, when passions are roused a third party has a soothing effect. The third party has no desire to intervene as such or do anything of the kind.

Q: Then, what is the word you would use in place of 'mediation'?

JN: It is not a question of using this word or that. May be, we may use the term 'conciliation'. But the use of the word does not make anything. Well, the point is, in Burma it is the Burmese Government with which we deal; we have nothing to do with others. It is to the Burmese Government that we offer our good services to help them to bring about a better atmosphere.

Q: Have the so-called "Rebels" approached you in this matter? The Karens or other parties?

JN: Nobody has approached us and nobody can easily approach. Only Governments approach Governments.

Q: May I know between whom is the conciliation sought to be made? Between the Karens and the Burmese Government or the Communists and the Burmese Government?

JN: We have nothing to do with the Communists in Burma obviously. As a matter of fact the Communists went rather out of the picture some time back as any recognizable force. The Burmese Government had sufficiently dealt with them. The present conflict is largely between certain Karen insurgents—may be they are supported by others.

Q: What kind of help do you visualize? You said that when the time came you might be able to help.

JN: That kind of help which a third party can render. The party that is not really concerned with the conflict, sometimes helps in merely paving the way for the persons concerned to deal with each other.

Q: I presume that the trouble in Burma interests the entire South-East Asia. What is the explanation for only the Commonwealth countries being interested in it?

JN: There is no question of the Commonwealth countries only being interested in it. Other countries are also bound to be interested. But what other countries are there? They are Indonesia, Siam and Indo-China. What other countries could you bring into the group? Obviously, Siam, Indo-China and Indonesia are at present having difficulties of their own.

Q: What has been the reaction of Burma? Has any specific question been submitted to Burma? I would like to know what questions were raised and what answers were received.

JN: There was no list of questions at all. As I said before we expressed our desire that peace should be established in Burma and we addressed the Burmese Government if we could be helpful and that our good offices were always available, subject always to the Burmese Government agreeing to it. It is for them to decide and take such steps as they desire.

Q: Has the Burmese Government sent any reply in answer to these suggestions?

JN: Yes, they have thanked us for this and they made various suggestions about the way the matter, they think, should be dealt with.

Q: Is this offer a purely officious offer, unlike that in the case of China, where they wanted the powers to intervene? Did we impose ourselves on Burma, or did they want our intervention?

JN: One thing is perfectly clear, that we did not impose ourselves anywhere. Except for our desire that there should be peace and order. That there should be orderly Government established there, we are not concerned. So far as we are concerned, we are naturally interested in the safety of a large number of Indians there—a very large number, about 700,000, spread out all over Burma. We are anxious about them. We cannot, we do not want to, evacuate them. Any attempt to evacuate them would lead to enormous problems and difficulties for them.

In spite of the trouble in Burma, we still think they are far safer in Burma, than if we attempted to evacuate such a large number of Indians. We did evacuate them from certain danger zones like Insein.² We evacuated 4,000 Indians from Insein, when fighting was taking place in that city, with the consent of the parties concerned.

2. Heavy fighting took place between the Burmese Government troops and the Karens in Insein, suburb of Rangoon, on 1 February. A temporary truce was specially arranged by the Indian Embassy to evacuate Indians from there.

So, we are naturally interested, first of all, in the freedom of Burma. And that freedom can only continue with peace and orderly Government. Otherwise the structure might collapse. Secondly, we are interested in general peace and order in South-East Asia. Thirdly, we are interested in the safety of the Indian residents there. These are our interests, and by these we stand. We have no other intention or desire to interfere in the slightest there.

Q: Is the Burmese Government's reply likely to lead to the despatch of a commission or delegation from India?

JN: No. I do not think any delegation or commission is going out yet. We may confer or carry on talks, But there is no question of any delegation or commission yet.

Q: Is the conference likely to take place in Delhi?

JN: No conference is going to take place just yet.

Q: Will you permit a non-official delegation to go to Burma? If anybody approaches you, will you permit them to go to Burma?

JN: Nobody has approached me. But there is no bar to anybody going.

Q: Has any Christian Association approached you?

JN: I am not aware of it.

Q: At the moment, both the Karens and the Burmese Government treat the Indians as neutrals; is that a fact?

JN: Yes. I am glad to say that the Indians as a whole have not got into any trouble there. Individual Indians might have got into trouble, but as a whole, Indians have not been treated badly by anybody.

Q: What about the attitude of His Majesty's Government in this respect?

JN: I suppose primarily they are also interested in protecting their national interests there. That is the primary object. Secondly, I suppose they wish to avoid any development in Burma which would lead to the collapse of the political and economic structure in Burma which would affect their interests.

Q: Is it true that the Burmese Government are not happy over Dr. Evatt's recent announcement in Delhi in regard to Burma's future relations with the Commonwealth?

JN: What Dr. Evatt said,³ of course, was entirely his personal opinion. That matter was not considered by anybody here. He expressed his personal opinion. He had a right to do it, and the Burmese Government evidently did not approve of that personal opinion.

Q: If I may be allowed to put a hypothetical question, in the event of a similar situation—God forbid—arising in India, would you very much relish intervention on the part of your neighbours like Pakistan or Australia on a similar "good offices" basis?

3. Speaking to the journalists on 1 March, Evatt commented, "It is of course a matter for the Burmese people, but I think it was a mistake for Burma to have left the Commonwealth and I believe sooner or later Burma will possibly rejoin the Commonwealth."

JN: No, we would not. But the question in this matter, I think, arose more in regard to certain financial transactions. This is how the question arose; and also the question of rice with which we are concerned and other countries are also concerned. It would make a big difference if rice from Burma was not available here. And rice also involved financial consideration. So, in that sense, other countries were approached. It is not an approach in the sense of military help or of any interference.

Q: A section of the Burmese press has not liked this conference, or at least any conciliation move by the British or Australians. In Karachi, in an interview to *Dawn*, the Burmese representative is reported as saying that "we naturally do not like even a sort of suggestion for conciliation or mediation between the insurgents and the Government and suggesting that no country in the world, not even India, would like that."

JN: Yes. I can quite understand the Burmese press or people being suspicious of any such move by any other country or power. I think their suspicions are unfounded. Certainly so far as we are concerned, we have no interest except what I have explained in the matter, except to urge the Burmese Government in regard to those interests, and for my part I think the general proposals the Burmese Government made seem to me fair.

It is not a question of our supporting any insurgents or considering ourselves a kind of arbitrators; that will be an entirely wrong attitude to adopt. We have only dealt with the Burmese Government, partly because we are intensely interested and partly because we considered desirable an approach with such advices, as we thought proper, subject always of course to what I have said.

Q: Is any recognition implied of the insurgents as belligerents?

JN: Of course not. I am telling you that we are only dealing with the Burmese Government, and we think that the offer they have made is very fair.

Q: What is the Government of India's attitude towards the demand of the Karens?

JN: I do not know, as a matter of fact, precisely what the demands of the Karens are, in the sense that there are so many separate demands which may be said to have varied in the last few months. But, as far as I understand, the Burmese Government's position has been—and this was, I think, partly incorporated in their constitution and a certain commission was appointed for the purpose—that they are prepared to accept a separate Karen state within the Union of Burma, the boundaries to be established later on by a commission, etc...

Q: Why not send Radcliffe?⁴

JN: I myself do not see how the Burmese Government can go any further than that.

4. Cyril Radcliffe.

Q: Karens have been demanding complete separation.

JN: Some people have said that; others have not. The position is not quite clear.

Q: Would you say that the action taken by the Government of India in governing this informal conference has meant that the chances of peace and order being restored have improved?

JN: That is very difficult to say because that depends on a certain military situation, and a certain psychological situation. It is somewhat difficult to judge from here, but certainly it tends to help.

Q: The Communists have gone out of the picture, but could you please tell us about the relative military strength.

JN: Originally there was a Communist revolt against the Government.⁵ That revolt was suppressed effectively. Later there came another revolt in which some Communists had played a small part but as a group the Communists have been suppressed. No doubt, when there was a state of disorders in parts of the country, some Communists took advantage of that and are probably taking advantage of that.

Q: What areas of Burma have been occupied by the insurgents and what are the areas under the Burmese Government?

JN: That, again, is very difficult to answer. We know that in the Insein area the major struggle took place between the Karens and the Burmese Government, and ultimately the Karens there have been driven into a part of Insein where they have entrenched themselves and they are gradually being pushed in and probably, I imagine, that Burmese Government will take possession of the whole Insein area fairly soon. Then, there are large groups in North Burma functioning. It is not a very organized force occupying a territory—large groups here and there. It is very difficult to say where a particular large group is and what its strength is.

Q: British imperialism has expressed sympathy with Karens—don't you think we are playing into the hands of British imperialism by offering to mediate? It gives a status to the Karens.

JN: I do not think it is correct to say, as you said, that the British have declared their sympathy with Karens. Please remember also that a considerable number of Karens are functioning with the Burmese Government today. They are a very important part and the rest of Burma which is with the Burmese Government. Karens themselves are divided on the issue, and I think while many people may like the Karens as individuals, as groups, I do not think any Government wants to encourage the Karens in their revolt for the simple reasons that it will lead to a collapse of the political and economic structure. I am quite sure that the U.K. Government is as anxious as any other Government to see the present Burmese Government becoming stronger and controlling the situation.

5. In August 1948, the Communists along with 2 battalions of the 1st Burma Rifles and People's Volunteer Organization rose in revolt against the Government. By September the insurrection was suppressed by the Government forces.

Q: It is not the question of the U.K. Government, it is the question of the imperialists.

JN: If you are referring to a few ex-British officers—I do not know how many but three or four of them were mentioned as having supported the Karens. It is true but the U.K. Government themselves are very much annoyed at the activities of some individuals like these, adventurer type of individuals, who made money by supplying arms etc. It is nothing to do with any Government or any group—just individual activities.

Q: Has the Burmese Government made any suggestion that India or any other Commonwealth country give her military aid or supply arms?

JN: Well, suggestions for supply of certain equipment etc., have often come. Certain things which can be bought in the open market have been allowed to be bought.

Q: If the Burmese Government have been successful in putting down the Communists, what makes us think that they cannot be successful in dealing with the Karens?

JN: You seem to forget that the initiative comes from Burma, not from us.

Q: Do you think that this is an attempt on the part of the British Government to bring Burma back into the Commonwealth?

JN: I think it will be entirely wrong to imagine that the British Government wants Burma to come back into the Commonwealth through these devious methods for the simple reason that it will be an exceedingly foolish policy to adopt. But this is a fear, I imagine, on the part of the British and other Governments that if this kind of thing continues, other elements, neither the Karens nor the Burmese, may begin to play an important role which they do not want them to play.

Q: What is the position of the repayment of the loan of Rs. 48 crores which the Government of Burma owes to the Government of India; whether there has been any change?

JN: The position is entirely static.

Q: Isn't it that the Conferences on Indonesia and Burma were in essence the precursor of a Pan-Asian Bloc on the same line as the so-called Atlantic Pact?

JN: I think those rumours are completely without any foundation. Nothing has come up officially or unofficially to that effect. You remember when the Conference on Indonesia was held, that Conference itself had passed a resolution that the participating countries should hold together and confer together in regard to Indonesia. Further, after that Conference was over we met again and we thought we might explore wider avenues of cooperation between these countries. It was not quite clear how we should do so. But what I may say is that those countries represented there were from Abyssinia and Egypt to Australia at the other end. It is a vast area with differing interests. We were not quite clear whether that cooperation should take place more on regional basis, that is two regions cooperating together as well as separately. We were quite clear it should be within the structure of the United Nations.

Q: What are your views on the Beel Plan⁶ for the settlement of Indonesian issue?

JN: Nothing should be encouraged which cuts across the Security Council's decision in regard to Indonesia and to some extent the Delhi Conference's decision. The Security Council has put forward a final plan and the Council should go ahead with it. Any variations consistent with that plan may be considered but not any variations inconsistent with that.

Q: You must have come across the press report on the repatriation of six Indians by the South African Government. Do you approve of any large-scale repatriation of Indians from there?

JN: The Government of India disapprove on various grounds any repatriation of this type because these people, while they were Indians racially, and culturally to some extent, are South African citizens. They are not Indian nationals. Of course I do not know to which category the six persons who were reported to have been repatriated belonged.

Q: Would you please enlighten us about the present food position in India and how the Government of India are trying to tackle the food problem?

JN: The Government of India are considering many aspects of the food problem more or less on a technical level. The high-level Political Committee is there on the top. But we wish to deal with the problem in a businesslike and technical way. We have made some arrangement and we propose to make some more arrangement for the technical advice.

The pre-war deficit of 3 per cent has been increased to 10 per cent. But we must definitely come to a decision that within a stated period, say two years, we will not import food from outside. We must adjust that programme within the period to have enough food in India to feed the population. The immediate target should be in the next year to reduce it, say, by half the quantity and work out the programme accordingly. We have made errors and mistakes in the past and have learnt from them. We are likely to make good fairly soon in the next year or two. It requires again certain adaptability to accept the food that is available here. During the war many countries had to face a food deficit, and they dealt with the situation with a change in their food habits and rationing.

The food question ought not to be as difficult as the people have come to consider. It will not be difficult for the country to make good the 10 per cent deficit by the employment of improved seed and manures, quite apart from additional areas being brought under cultivation. Some change in the food habits of the people

6. D. Beel, the Dutch Commissioner in Indonesia, announced on 1 March that the Round Table Conference on Indonesia, convened by the Dutch to meet at The Hague on 12 March would take place even if the Republicans refused to participate in the Conference.

is also essential. I have been using a food which is a mixture of 75 per cent wheat and 25 per cent sweet potato flour. It is good both from the point of view of health and taste. Both sweet potato and banana can be grown easily and in large quantity and are very useful as food.

Q: Would you please say something on the question of relationship with Pakistan?

JN: India desires to put an end to the various differences with Pakistan because such conflicts are injurious to India as well as to Pakistan. We want to put an end to the trade difficulties also. If we have a political conflict let us deal with it as such. The continuous tug of war and the feeling of tension on the frontiers and in commercial and trade matters must be put an end to. The situation is improving undoubtedly. We are having continuous consultations and conferences. Vaguely it has been said that there should be a joint defence policy, sometime or other it is bound to come.

Q: How had the Government of India viewed the replacement of M. Molotov by M. Vyshinsky as Foreign Minister in the U.S.S.R.?

JN: We have not had sufficient data to form any opinion on that.

Q: Why is the appointment of a Plebiscite Administrator for Kashmir being delayed?

JN: It is due to the serious illness of the person. General Bedell Smith⁷ was selected but he was admitted to hospital and since then other names are also being considered, but it is upto the United Nations to do this work.

Q: Should the new selection wait till America can spare another General?

JN: Surely, I should have thought America has abundance of Generals.

Q: Is it true that you have accepted Mr. Truman's invitation to visit the United States?

JN: It is exceedingly likely that I may go to America sometime, but I cannot say when I will go there. Mr. Truman has been good enough to invite me to go there. I have thanked him for this. I expressed my earnest desire to accept the invitation. I pointed out that for the next few months we have Legislative Assembly and Constituent Assembly Sessions and it is not possible for me to leave India for any period while the Indian Constitution is being made. After that, if it is possible I shall take advantage of this invitation.

7. Walter Bedell Smith (1895-1961); U.S. Ambassador to Soviet Union, 1946-49; Director, Central Intelligence Agency, 1950-53.

17. Financial Aid to Burma¹

I took up these papers to P.M. yesterday.² He asked that we should inform the Burmese that we have no cash money to advance to Burma, and if any money were to be advanced, we would have to ask the U.K. Government to agree to some of our frozen sterling balances being released for the purpose. The U.K. Government will, therefore, have to be brought into the picture and we should like to know if the Burma Government would wish us to consult the United Kingdom.

1. Note of S. Dutt, Additional Secretary. 16 March 1949. File No. 3-35/49-B I, N.A.I.
2. The Burmese Government had proposed that India should advance them £ 10 million against Burmese rice supply to India for the current year.

18. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Your telegram No. 5222. As you know already, real purpose of Bottomley's visit was to discuss situation in Burma.² Such trade talks as took place were merely a cover and limited to informal conversation between Bottomley and our Minister of Trade and Industry and Supply. Pacific organization³ was not discussed. This is for your information. If you are prepared for comment, you might say that trade conversations were informal and of nature of review of current trends. As regards Pacific organization, you can say that no one has approached us. It would be advisable to consult Bottomley before you make any public statement since we do not wish to embarrass him.

1. New Delhi, 17 March 1949. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. Arthur Bottomley, British Minister for Overseas Trade, visited India in February 1949 to discuss the Burmese situation in the informal Commonwealth Conference held in New Delhi on 28 February. He also participated in the Trade Conference and negotiations which were going on in Delhi, simultaneously, between India and twelve European countries.
3. See Section 2, item 17.

19. Cable to M.A. Rauf¹

Your telegram No. 168 dates 2nd April.² I confess that I find situation in Burma not only alarming but confusing. From here, Burma Government appear to be steadily losing grip over situation. For dealing with it, they approach British to instruct their Ambassador to attempt mediation with Karens and, simultaneously, tell us that they need military equipment for 10 battalions to strengthen army which will fight insurgents and create order. Apart from fact that we have no surplus equipment to spare (we have touched rock-bottom and are sending a special mission to procure what it can), I have to consider whether open and substantial military aid to Burma may jeopardize safety of Indians living in those areas which are under control of elements whom Government of Burma seek to suppress by force of arms. All the same, I shall be glad to see Thakin Nu in New Delhi. I am due to leave for England on morning of 19th, but if he can be here for 16th and 17th April, that will give us two days in which to spend some time together.

2. For publicity purposes it may be said that Thakin Nu is visiting me in response to a long-standing invitation. Announcement should be simultaneous in New Delhi and Rangoon, and, so far as possible, in identical terms.

1. New Delhi, 4 April 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. Rauf wrote that Thakin Nu's Government was losing control over the situation in Burma and desperately asking for military and financial help from India and other Commonwealth countries.

20. Cable to C.R. Attlee¹

Thank you for your message² regarding the situation in Burma which your High Commissioner³ conveyed to me on the 11th of April.

1. New Delhi, 13 April 1949. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. Considering the Burmese Government's latest endeavours to come to terms with the Karen insurgents in Insein, though not successful, Attlee thought that the U.K., along with other Commonwealth Governments, could give a formal reply to the request for financial help by the Burmese Government. Due to other commitments, he wrote, it was not possible for the U.K. to bear that heavy financial burden. He requested Nehru to inform him "whether you would be prepared to accept the principle that any financial aid to be given to Burma should be shared between the Commonwealth Governments."
3. Lt. Gen. Archibald Nye.

I have delayed replying to it as Thakin Nu, the Prime Minister of Burma, was expected here. I have now had long and frank talks with him.⁴ I have laid the greatest stress on the establishment of peace and more specially on the cessation of hostilities between the Burmese and the Karens. Thakin Nu agreed with what I said and assured me that he had done his best and would continue to seek every opportunity to come to an arrangement with the Karens, but the Karens obstinately refused to accept even the most generous terms. If he went much further he would completely alienate his own people who might even tend to join the Commonwealth. Therefore, he had to proceed warily. The only way according to Thakin Nu that peace could come was by exercising military pressure.

I pointed out to Thakin Nu that while military operations may be necessary they could not possibly yield by themselves any substantial result. The only way to achieve a real measure of success was to come to terms with the Karens and then clear the country of other insurgent elements.

I have no objection to your adopting the line suggested in para 6 of your message.⁵ I think that will be the right course to adopt. In view, however, of my long personal talks with Thakin Nu it would not be necessary for our Ambassador to discuss this matter with him separately unless some new situation arises.

While we are prepared in the circumstances you mention to join other Commonwealth countries in giving a loan to the Burmese Government, I should like to point out what I told Mr. Bottomley that we are in no position to advance loans. The only possible way we could do so was by further release of some of our blocked sterling balances, but without prejudice to drawings to meet our own requirement.

Thakin Nu has gone to Karachi today; on his way back on the 15th, he will see me again and then proceed to Burma.

4. Thakin Nu visited New Delhi on 12 and 13 April and discussed with Nehru Burmese problems including the need for financial aid.
5. Attlee suggested that the United Kingdom and other Commonwealth countries, who "are animated by a spirit of genuine and disinterested friendship towards Burma" could consider giving financial assistance, as requested by Burma, "as soon as the prospect of the restoration of a reasonable degree of peace and stability" could be assured. He expressed his readiness to assist in the restoration of peace, but only financial assistance, he wrote, "would not itself contribute to the restoration of peace and stability."

21. To Thakin Nu¹

New Delhi
April 14, 1949

My dear Thakin Nu,

It was a great pleasure to meet you again and to have full and frank talks with you. You know how vitally interested I am in the future of Burma. This is not merely because I wish Burma well, as indeed I do, but also because what happens in Burma affects India and the whole of Asia. The crisis in Burma is, therefore, of vital significance to all of us and we have anxiously watched it during these past many months.

2. That crisis, of course, has a military aspect and it is obvious that your Government must meet rebels with force. It follows that you must strengthen your armed forces and keep them disciplined. You have asked us on several occasions for equipment and other supplies and we have tried our best to send them to you. I know that we have not been able to fulfil all your demands. I explained to you the great difficulties that we were experiencing. These difficulties flowed from the partition, which split up our Army, our Air Force, our Services, our communications, and almost everything. Immediately after we had to deal with vast scale civil conflict in Northern India and huge migrations of human beings. Soon after came the Kashmir war. For a State, newly free, these problems were colossal and it would not have been surprising if that new State collapsed under their burden. However, we survived and gradually gained strength. But as a result of all this, our resources were strained to the utmost. More especially our army supplies came down to rock-bottom level and because of the difficulty in getting spare parts, much that we had could not be used. We have recently sent a special military mission to Europe and America to get supplies and spare parts.²

3. These have been our extraordinary difficulties and I think it is some credit to our Government that we have pulled through them and made good. But our present position is such that we just cannot find adequate supplies for you. We are trying to collect what we can and you will have them. I hope you will understand our position and realize that we are doing our utmost for you.

4. I have said above that one aspect of the problem in Burma is a military one. It is clear that there are other aspects also and in the long run these other aspects are even more important. I should like you to look at this whole picture, not only in Burma but in Asia and the world. It is an extraordinary picture, both fascinating and disturbing. The whole of Asia is in a state of turmoil and revolution in various stages. I am not afraid of revolution, but I do not want widespread ruin

1. J.N. Collection.

2. See Section 1, sub-section 3, item 2, fn.2.

in large parts of Asia, for that would mean delaying progress for a generation or two, apart from the terrible misery that it will bring. To imagine that a mere upsetting of existing governments and institutions necessarily leads to a betterment of the people, is surely not right. It may well lead, as it has led in many places, to a tremendous setback and ruin and misery.

5. During the past year and a half we in India have had to face exceedingly difficult situations. We have been accused of not being progressive enough in our legislation or our practice. Perhaps some of the accusations have a degree of truth in them. But all this must be measured from the point of view of maintaining stability and security in the State. If this is not done, then chaos follows. We have succeeded not only in maintaining this stability and security but in making progress in that direction, and that is no small gain. For now we are in a position to go ahead fairly fast. Otherwise India would have been split up into numerous fragments or economically and politically broken up, resulting in far lower standards for our people. The hope of progress would have had to be given up for a long time to come. As it is, India is considered to be about the only stable and strong State in a great part of Asia and more and more other States of Asia look up to it for cooperation and guidance.

6. I mention all this in order to show that we have barely escaped disaster ourselves during the past year and a half and that it is only a long distance view that has kept us going and prevented our country from going to pieces. We have often had to face even popular disapproval of our action, because we were convinced that any other course would be injurious to the nation. We have looked at the problem of India in the larger context of Asia and world peace and we have gradually evolved a strong integrated India. Vast problems still remain, but we are confident of solving them.

7. Because we looked ahead and were not afraid of a little unpopularity for the time being, we did many things for which we were criticized. We were anxious that during this period of change-over from British rule to independence, we should take no risks and should in no way encourage disruptive tendencies. Deliberately we decided to keep Lord Mountbatten as Governor-General, although we could have easily chosen one of our own colleagues. Deliberately now we have expressed our willingness to remain associated with the Commonwealth, even though we are going to become a Republic. We have done all this with the one intention of not weakening the stability of the country and gradually forging ahead and building up our strength till we can stand completely alone, if necessary.

8. Burma has unfortunately had to face a succession of troubles and conflicts ever since it became independent. You lost, by horrible assassination, your great leader, Aung San.³ I had looked to him not only for great leadership in Burma but in Asia also and it was a terrible loss for all of us.

3. See *Selected Works* (First Series), Vol. 15, p.68.

9. Now you are the leader of Burma and, if I may say so, Burma is very fortunate in having you, because you have wider vision and you are absolutely straight and have no personal axe to grind. Your vision and your high integrity are tremendous assets to Burma. Personally I have come to believe that straightness and integrity in politics are more important than any other quality. Little-mindedness never makes a nation great.

10. The present position in Burma is a serious one both from the political and the military point of view. It is clear that the only possible stable government is your government. The only alternative to this is chaos. If there is this chaos, that is an open invitation to others to come to Burma, whether these others come by sea or over land. Time is running short and danger surrounds Burma. Though Burma is independent, it should never be forgotten that independence is not a question of passing a law or resolutions or slogans, but is dependent entirely on the inner strength and cohesion of the people. If that cohesion is lacking, even military victories will not carry one far. Time is important, I have said, because the situation in Asia is developing rapidly.

11. Among the various insurgent groups, it is clear that your Government can have little to do and can have little in common with the Communists in Burma or the P.V.Os.⁴ Communism in Burma has little to do with real communism. Its name is exploited and violent deeds are indulged in. The Karens, on the other hand, can make suitable allies for you in the future. Any attempt to fight on all fronts is not likely to succeed and may well end in very serious loss. In politics as in warfare, one takes up one's enemy one by one. The Burmese Government has been caught in a bad strategy when it has to face many enemies at the same time. Of all these present insurgents, the Karens are the only ones that really count and that can make a difference in the future.

12. I know that the Karens have behaved very badly and that there is a great deal of ill-feeling and anger against them. But we cannot judge long-distance policies by present-day passion.

13. It is clear that an outstanding military victory against all the insurgents is unlikely for a long time. This period may well see very serious developments and if Burma is still tied up with its inner revolts, then Burma will become helpless before others from outside.

14. If this line of reasoning is correct, as I think it is, then it becomes incumbent to stop this civil conflict so far as the Karens are concerned. Of course this can only be done by terms, fair and honourable. It is not for me to suggest what steps are possible or should be taken. Of that only you and your colleagues can be judges. All I wish to emphasize is that from the point of view of a longer strategy and of avoiding imminent dangers, it seems essential that everything in reason should be done to put an end to the conflict with the Karens. If this is done, then

4. People's Volunteer Organization.

immediately, other results follow. The country's morale and discipline go up, and your Government's hands are free to deal with other troublesome elements. Your prestige goes up before other countries and financial and other help can follow more easily. You get breathing time to build up your strength, political, economic and military, and it will not be difficult for you then to meet any fresh dangers that might arise. There is, in other words, an immediate change in the situation to your Government's advantage.

15. What is the alternative to this? Weary dragging on of civil wars for months and months with progressive deterioration. We have seen in Malaya how difficult it is to put an end to civil disturbances. The British Government there has a large and well-equipped army and air force, and yet their success has been very slow. So, that one cannot rely upon purely military solution of these problems. War goes on resulting in more and more disintegration, economic and political. Ultimately there is danger of foreign intervention. This foreign intervention can be from the North, that is, China, or from across the sea by other powers. In either event it will be unfortunate for Burma and her freedom will be put in peril.

16. Another possible alternative is for some kind of an alliance or cooperation between those who are supporting you and the Communists and the P.V.Os. Any such development, I think, would be very disastrous. The so-called Communists in Burma are hardly Communists and most of them function as freebooters and terrorists. The P.V.Os. appear to be completely indisciplined and rather opportunist with no particular principle. Any alliance with these elements would lead to rapid disintegration. It would also mean further isolation from the rest of the world, which will be even more chary of giving any help. As a result again, there may be foreign intervention either from the North or from the South.

17. I have referred to China above. I am not alarmed because of developments in China. I think that they had become inevitable. I cannot say what a new regime in China will be like. But I imagine that it will be very much Chinese and will not function merely at the dictation of others. I do not think this regime will deliberately seek conflict with Burma or try to invade any part of Burmese territory. But if Northern Burma is in a state of disruption and chaos, roving bands from China are likely to enter Burma to take advantage of the situation there. This will lead to further complications.

18. With the development of the situation in China, Indo-China and Siam are likely to be affected. As it is the French in Indo-China are in a weak position and they are bound to be pushed out sometime or other. In Siam the position is also very unstable. It thus appears that on several sides of Burma there is likely to be violent upheaval and unless Burma is stable then, with a strong government, surrounding upheavals will also tend to disrupt Burma. I have not referred to the world situation as a whole. But everyone knows that it is tense. I do not myself think that a major war is likely to come for a few years, but no one can be certain. The path of prudence lies, to be prepared for any development.

19. It is on this basis that we are proceeding in India. We want to do everything in our power to prevent another war from taking place, because such a war would be disastrous for humanity. But, at the same time, we are anxious to build up our country and attain strength before a world upheaval takes place. So we are hard at work at this process of building up.

20. This argument applies even more to Burma. It has to make good from the point of view of the world and the tension that exists there, and more particularly, it has to recover stability before its northern and eastern borders are powerfully affected. The latter development may take place within three months or so and thus the time at our disposal is strictly limited. Hence the importance of this time factor and your viewing the Burma situation in terms of these possible developments and dangers. Forgetting this imminent future and functioning only in the present will not be the path of wisdom, for that future is going to be the present fairly soon.

21. From the financial point of view, your country's situation will naturally deteriorate, if hostilities go on. That is always the result of war. In Burma you started from scratch without much in the way of reserves. Indeed you are a debtor country. We would gladly help you financially if we could. But our own financial position is a very peculiar one. On the one side we are a creditor country. The U.K. Government owes us a large sum of money which is locked up in frozen sterling balances. Pakistan owes us a large sum of money which we cannot touch for at least three years and I do not know what will happen afterwards. Burma owes us also a large sum and that we are not likely to touch for some time. On the other hand we have had to face heavy deficit budgets and inflation. If we once give in to this inflation, our economic position would deteriorate rapidly and go towards some kind of a collapse. We do not intend to permit this to happen and we are going to try our utmost to stop inflation, reduce prices, promote industrial development and have rising standards of living. Cash we simply have not got. The only possibility of our helping you financially is, if the U.K. Government releases some of our frozen sterling balances with them.

22. The only chance of financial help is thus from the U.K. Government in cooperation with some other Commonwealth Governments. We can join in this, subject to our frozen sterling balances being released. The other Dominion Governments may help partly, but only if the U.K. Government takes the lead. The U.K. Government has made it clear that they cannot consider loans, unless the main hostilities cease. So we get back into a vicious circle. I do not think the U.S.A. is going to help at all in the present circumstances and certainly not, if the U.K. Government is averse to helping. The U.S.A. have received a bad shock in China where they poured in money and are not likely to try again. The result of all this is that financial help appears to be dependent on a cessation of hostilities.

23. I have placed the broad facts of the situation, as they appear to me, before you. The immediate problems in Burma are known to you much better than to me, but even these immediate problems have to be viewed in that larger context

that I have mentioned. You have to consider the two together and find a way out which is honourable to your Government and country and is conducive to peace coming soon and with it financial help and consolidation. The methods of approach must also be decided by you and your colleagues. Sometime ago, you will remember that the Government of India suggested some kind of a mediation. At that time you did not think it appropriate or feasible. I want to make it quite clear what our idea of mediation was. It was not, in any sense, to encourage the Karens or to consider them as equal parties to a dispute. It was and is our firm conviction that the only possible approach in Burma must be one which strengthens your Government's hands. We want your Government to be even more firmly established, because there is no alternative to it in Burma. Therefore any step that we could take, could only be after full consultation with you and in accordance with your wishes. As a matter of fact, we think that your proposals to the Karens were eminently reasonable and fair and I do not see how you could go much further.

24. The issue before us was of a somewhat different kind. No principles were involved, no recognition of the Karens or encouragement of them. But it sometimes happens that a third party approach breaks the ice and makes the consideration of a problem easier. We were prepared to make that third party approach, provided you were willing. As you were not willing then, naturally we could take no step. We would ourselves greatly prefer not to take any step in Burma. We do not wish to interfere in any way or to assume any responsibility. But if it was thought that some kind of an approach from us might be helpful to you, we would have undertaken it in order to clear the ground for you to deal with the situation directly.

25. We are always prepared to do this and to help you in any other way possible to us. I mentioned to you that if real necessity arose, I would myself be prepared to go to Burma. Frankly I would not like to do so at the present moment, as my going there might introduce an element of confusion. But if there was real need and a prospect of my visit doing good, I would put aside all my engagements here and visit Burma for a few days. Even so, of course, the ground would have to be prepared for my visit in some way or other. All I could do or all that any colleagues of mine would do would be just to clear the ground a little and remove a psychological barrier among those who may doubt the *bona fides* of the Burma Government that the Burma Government's word would be carried out to the letter. I know very well that what you say, you will do, whatever happens.

26. This has become a very long letter and you will forgive me, I hope, for its length. The length of this letter is some evidence of our deep anxiety to help you and Burma. Trouble and difficulty have brought us even closer together than in the past and we have to hold together. For our part, we want to do so and you can rest assured that we shall remain good friends of the Burmese people and try to help them to the best of our ability.

27. You know our Ambassador in Rangoon. He is a good and able man, anxious to help. You can utilize his services. Should you think it desirable, we can send some one else also. I mentioned to you that our Deputy Foreign Minister, Dr. B.V. Keskar, is going out on a routine tour of our foreign missions in South East Asia. He will visit Rangoon also, though this will be normally about four or five weeks from now. His visit could be expedited, if this was considered necessary.

28. I have written to you not in an official capacity but as a friend and a colleague. I have therefore written perfectly frankly.

With all good wishes to you and to the people of Burma.

Yours very sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

22. To M.A. Rauf¹

New Delhi,
April 15, 1949

My dear Rauf,

I have your letter of the 10th April. It has helped me to understand recent events in Burma. It came at the right time, just when I was discussing these matters with Thakin Nu. Thakin Nu has gone to Karachi today. He will break journey in Delhi on his way back day after tomorrow for a few hours. I have been and shall continue to be terribly busy as I have to deal with a multitude of important questions before I leave for England on the 19th. But I made myself find the time for long talks with Thakin Nu. I enclose a note prepared by me about these talks.

Since writing that note I have had another talk with him today before he left us for Karachi. The essence of these talks is that:

- (i) We are very anxious for peace in Burma for a variety of reasons—the interests of Burma, the interests of India and of Asia. Continuation of hostilities will produce chaos in Burma and powerfully affect neighbouring countries. Time is most urgent and something should be done soon.
- (ii) The only stable Government we can envisage is Thakin Nu's. The alternative to that is no other stable Government but chaos and anarchy.
- (iii) It is exceedingly unlikely that satisfactory military decisions will be arrived at soon. Even if the Burmese forces are successful in Insein, trouble will continue elsewhere. Ultimately no doubt the Burmese Government may suppress this, given the time and the opportunity. But

1. J.N. Collection.

that time and opportunity may well be lacking. Strong destructive forces were at work everywhere and there was the danger at the Chinese frontier which might materialize in another two months or so. In other words the situation could not be dealt with by purely military means. We have seen the British Government, with all its resources and with a large army and air force, taking seven or eight months or more to deal with the Malayan insurgents, and not wholly succeeding. If that was so in Malaya, the position in Burma was an even more difficult one. Therefore, too much reliance should not be placed on the military aspect, though this was important and could not be ignored. Other approaches have to be made.

- (iv) From every point of view, and more specially from the point of view of the Burmese and the present Government there, it was of the utmost importance to put an end to the fighting with the Karens. Naturally, this should be done with honour. But the importance of it must be realized.
- (v) Till this fighting with the Karens was finished there was no hope of financial help from abroad, but once that fighting was over it would be possible for a loan to be arranged and for other help.
- (vi) It was entirely for Thakin Nu and his colleagues to decide what manner of approach they should make. It is not our desire to interfere, but if they thought that we could be of help we were prepared to do our utmost. Because, we are very anxious indeed to see Thakin Nu's Government firmly established and peace restored.
- (vii) I even hinted at my going to Rangoon if Thakin Nu thought this desirable, and I thought so too. But I would prefer not going there unless the ground was prepared for it. I am prepared, however, at any time to send others there privately to explore the possibilities of peace. The Karens are stubborn. They might listen to a third party.

Thakin Nu was impressed by my talk. But he seemed to be afraid of his own followers who might desert him and join the Communists or the P.V.Os. if he went too far with the Karens. However, he said that he would give every thought to my proposal and asked me to send him a letter which he might show to his colleagues. I have promised to do so.

You should follow the general line indicated above. If any opportunity offers itself to you to help in getting a settlement or even a ceasefire or truce, you should take it provided always that you function with the goodwill of Thakin Nu. We cannot take any independent steps apart from his wishes. Any step taken should be entirely secret.

As for supplies, we are examining the matter and probably we shall give them something though not nearly as much as they want. This too must be kept completely secret.

I had a message from the Prime Minister of the U.K. suggesting that another approach should be made to the Burmese Government in connection with the loan.² They wanted to make clear that they would be prepared to consider a loan in conjunction with other Dominion Governments, provided there was peace and provided financial supervision was agreed to. Attlee asked us if we would join in some such approach to the Burmese Government. I have not answered him yet. I propose to tell him now that I have had long talks with Thakin Nu and I shall give a report of these talks. If the U.K. wants to approach Thakin Nu, they can certainly do so. There is no particular point in your merely supporting what the British Ambassador might say as I have already dealt with Thakin Nu directly. You can, when you have a chance, support the line I adopted with him. There is no conflict between this line and the U.K. line. Only, we are not very much interested in the loan as we are not in a position to give anything. The most we can do is to allow a part of our blocked sterling balances in London to be used in this way if the U.K. Government agree.

In your letter you suggest that Thakin Nu should send a group of two or three persons for purchases in India. He can do so if he wishes but he had already brought some men with him.

There is no question of any large assistance from us to Burma because we are not in a position to give it. As I have said above, any assistance that we might make should be kept secret. You have yourself said so.

A telegram from your office tells us about thousands of Indians round about Myitkyina who had gathered together and wanted to come to India *via* Assam. I am glad you discouraged this migration.

I am told that the Ziawadi Estate³ is in ill-favour with the Communists who attacked it. Generally speaking Indians have not been attacked.

I am going to England on the 19th and hope to return on the 6th May.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. On, 11 April. See *ante*, cable to Attlee, 13 April, fns. 2 and 5.

3. Ziawadi or Zayavadi Estate was formed by 30,000 Indian labourers from Bihar who were settled in Burma for three generations by getting Zayavadi land grants. They changed the jungle areas into rich sugar-producing settlements.

23. Cable to M.A. Rauf¹

The U.K. Government are telegraphing to their Ambassador in Rangoon certain proposals regarding aid to Burma which have been formulated after consultation with Prime Ministers of all governments mentioned.² He will communicate them to you and your Pakistan colleague and idea is that message in terms of first five paragraphs should be communicated to Thakin Nu. Please telegraph Thakin Nu's reactions to message and your views on effect on Indians in rebel-controlled areas of publicity referred to in last para of telegram. I am leaving London on morning of 3rd May and should like to hear from you, if possible, by Monday, 2nd May. On 3rd and 4th May I shall be in Berne and you can communicate with me there through our legation.

1. New Delhi, 28 April 1949. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. The Foreign Office in London announced on March 24 that the Governments of Australia, Sri Lanka, India, Pakistan and the U.K., in response to a request by the Burmese Government, offered a loan of £ 6,000,000 to Burma. The loan would be for two years and would be drawn "as and when required for internal expenditure." The Burmese rupees for such expenditure would be obtained by the deposit of a loan of sterling with the Burmese Currency Board.

II. SRI LANKA

1. Trade With Sri Lanka¹

I agree generally with what our High Commissioner in Ceylon says.² I do not think we should offer any advice to our people there. They can decide for themselves and take the consequences. Whenever an opportunity arises for us to express an opinion on the new Act, certainly we should express our disapproval of it.

1. Note to Additional Secretary, 30 January 1949. File No. 69-1/47-O.S.II, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.
2. In his letter to Nehru of 24 January 1949, V.V. Giri wrote that in spite of the Government of India's best effort to secure "goodwill of Ceylon Government" and to settle the political issues, Sri Lanka passed the "Indian Residents (Citizenship) Bill on 21 January 1949 which denied the Indian residents in Sri Lanka the right to apply for citizenship." Giri suggested "wait and watch" for future developments before making any protest against the Bill.

Also in regard to the copra transaction, we should disapprove strongly of the different treatment given to us from that given to Pakistan and the U.K.³ I do not quite know how matters stand in regard to this. Please send an answer to this to Mr. Giri.

3. The negotiations between the Indian representative and the Sri Lanka Government in January 1949 had failed, as Sri Lanka did not agree to supply copra on the same terms as were granted to Pakistan and Britain, though she depended solely on India for the supply of coal and other essential commodities at very reasonable rates.

2. Cable to D.S. Senanayake¹

Our High Commissioner² in Ceylon has conveyed to me your letter of the 2nd April which gives Mr. Jayah's³ explanation of his activities in Karachi at the so-called World Muslim Conference held on the 18th and 19th February.⁴ I must confess that this explanation is entirely unsatisfactory and does not even answer the specific points raised by us. I am drawing your attention to this particular matter because activities of this kind of a Minister naturally create misunderstandings and affect relations between countries concerned. We are confident that the relations of India and Ceylon will not be affected by this. But I should like to point out to you that Mr. Jayah's activities and speeches, which he has not denied, are a breach of international decorum and practice.

So far as I know, even the Pakistan Government did not recognize in any way this World Muslim Conference which was an entirely unofficial affair. For a Minister of an independent country to participate in this unofficial conference and condemn India and more specially India's part in the Kashmir and Hyderabad affairs is completely lacking in propriety. I realize that Mr. Jayah attended the Conference

1. New Delhi, 17 April 1949. File No. 30(33)/47-PMS.
2. V.V. Giri.
3. J.B. Jayah, Minister of Social Services, Government of Sri Lanka.
4. The unofficial World Muslim Conference was held in Karachi under the auspices of the Jamaat Ukhuwat-ul-Islamia. The Conference was presided over by Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani and J.B. Jayah.

in his personal capacity and did not represent your Government. But it is difficult to dissociate personal capacities from public capacities at public functions. Mr. Jayah, who presided at the Conference, did not dissociate himself in any way with the resolutions adopted which were highly offensive to the Indian Union.⁵

5. The Conference condemned the "organized massacre of Muslims and the inhuman atrocities perpetrated on them in many parts of India." The resolution on Kashmir said that the "State of Jammu and Kashmir is economically, culturally, geographically and ethnically a part of the Muslim State of Pakistan" and that the occupation of Junagadh, Mangrol and Manavadar by the Indian Union was an act of aggression.

III. WEST ASIA

1. Publicity in West Asia¹

I entirely agree that our publicity in the Middle East as elsewhere should be positive detailing India's achievements, the position and numbers of Muslims here &c.²

As regards communism, we cannot just to please Turkey go about denouncing communism.³ We should state the facts, that is, the attitude of the C.P. of India being violently hostile to the Indian State, severe action has been taken against its members &c. No ideological propaganda should be attempted. Few are capable of doing this adequately.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 8 April 1949. File No. 15/1/24-XP(P)/49, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.
2. In view of the growing interest in West Asian countries about India and in order to counteract Pakistani propaganda that India was not interested in West Asia but in the non-Muslim South East Asia alone, the officials of the Ministry of E.A. & C.R. had suggested in a note of 31 January 1949 that better publicity arrangements should be made in the Arab countries and Turkey through documentary films, pamphlets, magazines, illustrated feature articles and broadcasts.
3. An official of the Ministry of External Affairs had said that the people of Turkey being opposed to Soviet communism wanted India to resist the growth of communism and take action against Indian Communists.

IV. IRELAND

1. Cable to Prime Minister of Ireland¹

On occasion of coming into force of Republic of Ireland Act, 1948, I wish

1. New Delhi, 10 April 1949. J.N. Collection.

to convey to the Government and people of Ireland the best wishes of the Government and people of India. I sincerely hope that the friendship which has marked the relationship between our two countries will be maintained and even strengthened by close cooperation in the extension of democratic freedom to peoples of the world which do not now enjoy it and in the firm establishment of world peace.

V. NEPAL

1. Relations with Nepal¹

I have read the interesting report on Nepal by Mr. S.K. Banerji² and the notes of the Deputy Minister and Foreign Secretary.

2. The situation in Nepal from our point of view is highly unsatisfactory. The work of our Embassy there has not yielded the results we had hoped for and, for a variety of reasons, instead of coming nearer to India, Nepal has drifted away and looked elsewhere for help. To some extent it is understandable because of the fear of democratic movements in India. Nevertheless, it is not natural and it can only lead to trouble between India and Nepal. India cannot possibly permit the growth of strong vested interests in Nepal controlled by foreign authority.

3. In all our talks with foreign powers regarding trade relations etc., we have laid stress on our special relations with Nepal. We have pointed out that the most favoured nation clause does not apply to Nepal with which we might well have more favourable terms. In the recent agreement between Nepal and the U.S.A.,³ the latter have been accorded the most favoured nation treatment. Does this mean that we can get no better terms or treatment than the U.S.A. has got or can get.

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 26 February 1949.

2. (b. 1913); joined ICS, 1937; selected for Foreign Service in 1947; Charge d' Affaires, Teheran, 1947-49; Deputy Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, 1949-51; Deputy High Commissioner, Pakistan, 1951-54; Consul General, San Francisco, 1954-56; Ambassador to Syria, 1956-58; High Commissioner to Malaya, 1958-59; Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, 1960-61; Chief of Protocol and Controller General of Emigration, 1961-64; Ambassador to West Germany, 1964-67; to Japan, 1967-70; Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, 1970-72; Lt. Governor of Goa, Daman and Diu, 1972-77.

3. In February 1949, Mohan Shamsher, the Prime Minister of Nepal, had signed a Technical Cooperation Mission Agreement with the Government of U.S.A.

4. Mr. Banerji talks about our sending a geological survey mission and says that this will be appreciated by the Nepalese Government. As a matter of fact, we have been proposing to send such a mission to Nepal for some time past and the response has been definitely negative.⁴

5. The time has come when we must adopt a more positive and more definite policy in Nepal. I do not know how far the treaty of friendship etc., has got. Before that treaty is finalized, we must know exactly what our position in Nepal is and what the Nepalese Government intend to do in regard to us and the suggestions we make.

6. In regard to our Embassy building in Nepal, we must insist on taking over charge of it on the date we have fixed. I think another telegram should be sent to our High Commissioner in London on this subject. At the same time the U.K. High Commissioner in Delhi must also be kept informed. In our message to our H.C. in London, we might add for his information and for use by him in his dealings with the U.K. Government that the general attitude of the U.K. Ambassador at Kathmandu has been continuously anti-Indian and we resent this. This appears to us particularly improper that the U.K. Ambassador should act in a manner hostile to a Dominion country. In any event, we are not prepared to allow any further use of our Embassy property by the U.K. Ambassador and the earliest steps must be taken to hand over charge to us.

7. Mr. Banerji says that the building and property in Kathmandu cannot be divided. I was all along under the impression that the property or rather the land attached to it was very spacious and could easily be divided. Further that some of the buildings could also be separated. The main Embassy building must of course be taken possession of by us. If it is conveniently possible for some of the other buildings to be separated without injury to us, this may be considered. Have we any report on the subject from our Embassy?

8. As the U.K. Ambassador has occupied our building in Nepal, does the U.K. Government pay any rent to us?

9. I agree that General Babar⁵ might be invited to India soon. A full note should be prepared for use during his visit when he comes and possibly an Aide-Memoire might be given to him. It is clear that our messages sent either through our Ambassador at Kathmandu, or through the Nepalese Ambassador in Delhi, do not produce any effect and seldom elicit a response. We must know where we stand with Nepal. If Nepal does not act in a manner friendly to us, then there is no particular reason why we too should be friendly to her.

4. The Government of India's offer to send geological experts to Nepal in 1948 for a survey was not considered by the Government of Nepal and in January 1949 Nepal engaged a British firm to make an aerial geological survey.

5. Babar Shamsher, the younger brother of the then Prime Minister Mohan Shamsher.

10. The question of our future Ambassador in Nepal also demands very early attention.

11. Mr. P.A. Menon⁷ says that the proposal regarding the exploitation of mineral resources is being considered by the committee for coordinating scientific work. That is only partly true. They have considered it and they are ready to send geologists etc. immediately. It is for the Nepal Government to agree. There is no delay on our part.

12. I should like a small note prepared saying what proposals and suggestions we have made to Nepalese Government in recent months and what their response or lack of response has been. Having done this, we should prepare a comprehensive memorandum on this subject to be sent to the Nepal Government. This may serve as the basis for the Aide Memoire for General Babar.

7. Joined ICS, 1929; Deputy Secretary and Secretary, India Supply Mission, Washington, 1943-47; Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, 1947-49; Minister in Portugal, 1949; Ambassador to Thailand and later in Germany.

2. Extradition of Nepalese Political Workers¹

This matter should be further investigated by our Law Department.² Unless the facts and law are quite clear, extradition should not be permitted. There can be little doubt that the case is of a political nature. That fact alone is not enough in case a criminal offence has been committed. But that fact puts us on special enquiry. We cannot allow people to be extradited to suffer for their political opinions or activities. Conditions in Nepal are in a ferment and political prisoners have been

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary, 26 February 1949. File No. 33(60)/48-PMS.
2. Bishweshwar Prasad Koirala, President of the Nepal National Congress, was arrested at Kathmandu on 13 December 1948 for agitating against the Nepal Government and sentenced to life imprisonment by a special court for high treason. Six other leaders were also sentenced to life imprisonment and about 50 persons sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from 3 to 15 years. The Nepal Government wanted the Government of India to extradite the Nepal National Congress activists functioning from India.

treated very badly. Their penal code is also archaic. Therefore, very special care has to be taken that Indian nationals are not subject to this penal code and procedure and the conditions in Nepal. There is always a danger of a political offender being proceeded against under the cloak of a criminal case.

2. Therefore, pending further and full enquiry no extradition should take place. The Nepal Government should be asked to produce proof as regards the facts. It is not enough to make a charge.

3. If the Bihar Government or the Magistrate are satisfied, the persons can be let out on bail pending investigation.

3. Political Prisoners in Nepal¹

I have received information that Shri Bishweshwar Prasad Koirala, who is in a Nepalese prison for his political activities, is being very badly treated. For some time past our general information has led us to believe that the treatment accorded to politicals in Nepal has been cruel and inhuman. This in the case of Bishweshwar Prasad Koirala is rather a special one. His wife is here and she has some letters which give some account of this treatment.

I do not know what we can do about this matter. Some weeks or months ago I think you wrote to our Ambassador in Kathmandu asking him to exercise his influence to tone down the inhuman treatment of these people by the Nepalese Government. Have you had any kind of an answer? Did our Ambassador take any such step?

I think we should draw the attention of both the Nepalese Ambassador here and the Nepalese Government in Kathmandu through our Ambassador to our feeling of distress at the reports that reach our people here and which create needless excitement and resentment in the minds of the people. We have no desire to interfere in such matters but from the humanitarian point of view, as well as from the point of view of reactions in India, we take the liberty to point this out to the Nepalese

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 15 March 1949. J.N. Collection.

Government.² The treatment accorded to political prisoners is supposed to comply with certain international standards. We would suggest therefore that the treatment of Bishweshwar Prasad Koirala should be in conformity with these standards.

2. The Nepalese Rana Government was strongly criticized by Indian political leaders for their treatment of B.P. Koirala and other political prisoners. In March 1949, the Indian Socialist Party adopted a resolution condemning the repressive policy of the Nepal Government and urged early release of all Nepali political prisoners. Koirala and his associates went on hunger strike and the Indian Socialist Party supported them by observing Nepal Day and continued the agitation. Koirala was released in June 1949.

4. Treatment of B.P. Koirala¹

I attach a copy of a letter received from Shri Bishweshwar Prasad Koirala, who is in a prison in Nepal. This reveals a pretty ghastly state of affairs. Please remind our Ambassador about this and ask him to inform the Nepalese Government of the effect being produced in India by the imprisonment and more especially the treatment accorded to Koirala.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 14 April 1949. J.N. Collection.

VI. BHUTAN

1. Treaty with Bhutan¹

Regarding Dr. B.C. Roy's letter,² I think that these matters should not be included in our draft treaty, but should be dealt with separately.

1. Note to Ministry of External Affairs, 7 March 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. B.C. Roy had suggested appointment of a foreign arbitrator, selected by India and Bhutan mutually, as Bhutanese authorities felt suspicious about India's attitude towards Bhutan after independence in 1947.

2. I do not very much like the idea of an arbitration clause, but I have no great objection to it if the Bhutanis attach importance to it. It should be clearly laid down, however, that the third arbitrator should be an Indian. It is immaterial whether he is chosen by Bhutan from a panel submitted by us or chosen by us from a panel submitted by Bhutan.

3. I do not think we should increase the subsidy beyond 5 lakhs.³ For the rest, I agree generally with the Foreign Secretary.

3. Negotiations for an Indo-Bhutanese treaty started with talks between India and Bhutan in New Delhi in December 1948. Finally on 8 August 1949 a treaty of "perpetual peace and friendship" was signed in Darjeeling. Devanagari was ceded to Bhutan and the annual subsidy raised to 5 lakhs. Bhutan agreed to be guided by India in external affairs while India agreed not to interfere in the internal affairs of Bhutan.

VII. UNITED STATES

1. Export of Beryl and Monazite¹

...The Prime Minister said that he could appreciate the American need for beryl and monazite.² It was not the policy of his Government to prevent the United States from obtaining these commodities in reasonable amounts. Furthermore, his Government was anxious that these commodities should not fall into dangerous hands; nevertheless, he hoped that the United States would understand the position of the Government of India. India was a poverty-stricken country; it possessed at the present time relatively few commodities of value and the Government felt that it owed it to the nation to realize as much as possible from such commodities as were available. The Indian Government in order to encourage the production of beryl and monazite was embarking on a policy of purchasing such amounts as could be produced and to use the monopoly thus created for the benefit of the

1. Record of a conversation of Loy Henderson, United States Ambassador, with Nehru on 6 March 1949 at New Delhi. Reproduced from the cable of Henderson, 7 March 1949. Department of State Division of Communications and Records, Under Secretary's Office, U.S.A. Extracts.
2. Loy Henderson expressed the deep interest of the United States Government in importing Indian beryl and monazite and welcomed any embargo placed by the Government of India on liberal export of these two items. As these commodities were needed to develop atomic power he was afraid that they could go into 'dangerous' hands. Apart from work on atomic energy, America needed them urgently for industrial purposes.

country and also in the interest of world security. He would like to know how much beryl the United States would need...

The Prime Minister asked me regarding our needs for monazite. I said that I did not know precisely what those needs were, that I was under the impression that for the present at least we would buy as much as the Indian Government could sell to the United States.

The Prime Minister said that he could tell me in confidence that at the present time India had available about 300 tons of beryl. I said that the United States would be glad to purchase immediately all of this or any share of it which India would be willing to sell.

The Prime Minister said that India would like, in return for sale to the United States of beryl and monazite, the United States to admit several leading Indian chemists into some of its laboratories where they could work in certain fields of atomic energy. He wanted to make it clear at once that there was no intention on the part of the Government of India, at least at the present juncture, to endeavour to produce atomic energy. India did not have the capital, the resources, or the scientific knowledge to embark on such an undertaking. India, however, did desire that its scientists be not left too far behind in this important scientific field. It would not request that Indian scientists be admitted into laboratories where vitally secret processes were being worked out. It would, however, like for them to have an opportunity to work with American scientists in connection with projects of an atomic nature, the principles of which were no longer secret, but in the working out of which Indian scientists could derive experience which might be useful to India when atomic energy began to be more widely used.

I told the Prime Minister that my Government was willing to facilitate India's receiving certain types of scientific equipment, such as cyclotrons. The question of equipment was of a somewhat technical nature and I did not feel qualified to go into it. The Prime Minister suggested that perhaps Dr. S.S. Bhatnagar, Secretary of the Department of Scientific Research of the Government of India, might go over the matter of equipment with a member of the Embassy's staff or might perhaps submit a list of the types of equipment desired.

...The Prime Minister said that he would appreciate it if I would tell him just what we meant when we said "dangerous hands" or "countries or groups" which might misuse beryl or monazite. I said that the reference was to the Soviet Union and to other Communist-dominated countries. He asked if there were any other parties which might fall in this category. I would like to mention the fact that certain people in our Government had considerable concern with regard to the French Atomic Energy Commission. It was feared that the Communists had penetrated that Commission to an unfortunate extent.

...The Prime Minister expressed some surprise at this and said that his Government had been carrying on negotiations with a private French company with the idea that that company might set up a thorium-nitrate plant in Southern

India which would process monazite sand. Regardless of the complexion of the Atomic Energy Commission he wondered if the activities of a private French company which would merely process the sand and would not dispose of the product would affect security.... In my own opinion, there would be danger from the point of view of security in case a private French company should undertake to process monazite sand in India. The Prime Minister said that my remarks with regard to the French had raised problems which had not come to his attention before and he would like to give that matter some thought. He added that he would ask Dr. Bhatnagar to get in touch with the Embassy in order further to exchange views and obtain suggestions.

10

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

III. U.N.O. and U.N.E.S.C.O.

1. India and Unesco¹

I welcome the idea of the seminar² being held in India and we should try to make it a success in every way. Probably the State Hotel in Brindaban, near Mysore, will be a suitable place. I presume enquiries have been made from the Mysore Government about the accommodation available there and the kind of arrangements that can be made.

2. Non-member States in Asia may be invited, but some care should be taken as to who is going to be invited.³ I should like the Secretary-General and the Foreign Secretary to consider this matter and to make their own suggestions. I think that Burma, Ceylon, Nepal, Japan and Indonesia should be invited. I rather think that Tibet should be left out. I doubt if any suitable person is likely to come from there and this business of treating Tibet as an independent entity causes trouble. Indo-China again offers difficulty. Are we going to invite the French Government there or the Viet Nam Government? Korea has to be considered. Normally we would like to have Korea join in, but we have not formally recognized South Korea yet. If South Korea is invited, what about North Korea? What does the Malaya States mean? Does that simply mean a British Governmental representative or something else?

3. In inviting all these countries, the absence of the Soviet countries of Asia is noticeable. I suppose it is difficult to invite them. At the same time I do not like our ignoring them at such Asian gatherings. It adds to the barrier between them and us.

4. These are some first thoughts. As I have stated above, I should like the S.G. and the F.S. to make suggestions.

1. Note to the Secretary-General and Foreign Secretary, 24 February 1949. File No. 8(14)-U.N.I/49, M.E.A. & N.A.I.
2. Unesco planned to hold an Asian seminar on rural adult education in India in October or November 1949.
3. On 17 February 1949, the Ministry of Education suggested invitations to non-member States like Burma, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Tibet, Japan, Korea, Indonesia, Indo-China and the Malaya States along with Afghanistan, China, Iran, India, Pakistan, the Philippines, Siam, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Transjordan and Turkey, which were member States.

2. Unesco and the Problems of Asia¹

Mr. Chairman, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I presume I have been invited to inaugurate this National Commission² in my capacity as Prime Minister of India, because it is not quite clear to me what other qualification I possess for this purpose. Well, in that official capacity, as well as in my personal capacity, I should like to welcome you all here and to express my pleasure at the formation of this National Commission.

I was thinking late last night as to what exactly I should say to you on this occasion and I confess that I could not quite make up my mind or have any clear ideas on the subject. I requested the Chairman to give me some more time to think about it but he refused. And so, if what I say to you is not very coherent or very much to the point, you will forgive me.

It is obvious that this great organization, which is part of a still greater organization, the United Nations, is trying to grapple with a variety of problems which are today convulsing the world, and which, unless they are solved will bring inevitable disaster in their train. The United Nations, as a whole, deals more or less with the political aspects of these problems. The Unesco deals more with the social, cultural, scientific and such other aspects. Now, politics have a certain value and a certain importance and our lives unfortunately are affected a great deal by what happens in the political aspects of things. Nevertheless, I suppose it is beginning to be realized more and more that politics are affected greatly by other things—economic, certainly; cultural backgrounds, certainly; education, certainly; and so on and so forth. And so more and more attention is gradually being paid to these backgrounds. We live in constant dread of war. Now, war may be caused by many things. But, probably, one of the main causes of war is just that dread alone. That fear of each other. Now, how do you grapple with this fear, possibly political in some places, but ultimately it is something deeper than that, some kind of attempt to understand the working of men's minds, the working of not only individual men's minds, but national minds, the mass mind and so on and so forth, and an attempt to make people understand other people's minds, one national group understanding another national group's mind.

1. Address to the Indian National Commission for Cooperation with Unesco, 9 April 1949, A.I.R. Tapes.
2. The Indian National Commission, consisting of 78 members representing the Central, Provincial and State Governments, and various voluntary organizations working in the fields of education, science and culture, was inaugurated in April 1949. The purpose was to act as a liaison group between Unesco and the people of India.

We are meeting here in India today and naturally for us Indians, even more than for others from the other continents of the world, what is happening in Asia is of the most tremendous significance. In Asia today there is a natural upheaval, not only in men's minds but in outward activity also, and something, I think, of the greatest importance from the historic point of view is taking place in Asia. I cannot for the moment say whether it will lead to all good or all bad or something in between the two. Apart from judging these various things that are happening, the point to notice is that something very big is happening, and it is important to notice that.

Now my mind goes back to a period, let us say, roughly five hundred years ago when first of all Europe or some countries of Europe began to throw out their feelers towards Asia, and their adventurers and seamen and others discovered the routes to India. And thus began those first contacts with Asia, Southern Asia, Eastern Asia, later Western Asia and the West, which developed later into various forms of colonial domination. It took two or three hundred years for them to instal themselves. And then we had another couple of hundred years or more of these forms of colonial domination in Asia by countries of Europe. We, who have been living in those times for the last generation or so, are so used to the period we have lived through that we forget, perhaps, that after all in the long context of history, this period is a very short period, so far as India or Asia or the world are concerned.

Now what is happening today? Not exactly a reversal of that process but something like it; that is to say, that European colonialism in Asia is vanishing fairly rapidly. It has gone from some areas. It is bound to go from other areas. Any person who has any understanding of these events can see that. So we are going back in a sense to a period some hundreds of years ago—not going back of course, because we live in a new world, but in a sense we pick up certain old threads again. Now that is one idea I should like to put before you.

The other idea is this. In various ways the last two hundred years or so of this colonial domination resulted in two types of happenings. One was a certain retardation to possible normal growth of these countries and on the other hand, something exactly contrary to that: new ideas coming in, new processes coming in, which meant a certain revolutionary significance that, in a sense, changed things as they were. So both processes continued side by side, a process of keeping things static and a process which had the seeds of dynamism in it. The result is that these seeds grew slowly, not as fast as it might have done, and when the obstruction was removed, then they suddenly sprouted up very rapidly. And we see this enormous upset in Asia today—an upset caused because in large parts of Asia social conditions and structures were kept within a strait jacket and not allowed to conform to changing conditions, as they normally might have done, whether in peace or war. So we see this upset and unless we adjust ourselves to these changing factors fairly rapidly, this upset will sweep us away. To give you a minor instance, not

a very minor one but still relating to India. Suddenly, in the course of the last one and a half years, we came up against something, which was completely out of date in the modern context of the things in India or the world, that is, the Indian States system which had continued because of some kind of external protection, some pressure, some propping up etc., for the last hundred years or more, not because of its inherent strength. As soon as that external pressure goes the thing collapses or tends to collapse or change. Fortunately for us in India, those who had to handle the things not only at the top but all over the country, in regard to this matter of the States approached the problem in a spirit of cooperation, in a spirit of trying to adjust themselves to changing conditions and brought about a change in the course of a year or so, which is very remarkable. Looked at purely from the historic point of view, the quality and the quantity of the change took place in such a short time. We have tried to adjust ourselves with that changing condition. We are still in the process of adjusting ourselves, but we have gone a long way.

Now looking at Asia as a whole, I suppose, the major problem of Asia, as it has been of other countries too, is the agrarian problem, the land problem, the peasant problem. India and all the countries in Asia are essentially agricultural countries. Therefore, the agrarian problem becomes the dominant problem. It may be solved in various ways. It must be solved partly, of course, by changing the agrarian economy of the country, and partly by the growth of industry etc. But the growth in industry takes a little time. Meanwhile, the agrarian aspect of it becomes dominant. It is dominant now. In India we have had to face it, but fortunately for us we have not remained completely static in regard to the agrarian problem and we have perhaps haltingly, perhaps too slowly, but, nevertheless, we have marched in a certain direction and tried to ease the burden of those vast masses of our agrarian population. And we have further things in view to change that land system greatly. In some other countries of Asia even that much progress has not been made. And if I were asked to analyse the revolution that is going on in large parts of Asia, it may take political forms, it may take any number of forms, but it is essentially an agrarian revolution, and till it solves itself or finds a solution for the agrarian problem that revolution will persist. What the solution will be I cannot say definitely. It may differ in various countries. Now, behind, of course, this agrarian problem lies the tremendous poverty of these peasant masses of Asia and all the tragedy that accompanies poverty which ultimately makes people rebel. That is the background.

Perhaps, what I have been telling you is not completely in keeping with the Unesco gathering. I say this because we have to understand these things. We have to understand another factor and it is this, that in the course of the last few hundred years the political centre of the world was in Europe and recently was somewhat transferred to America, but still Europe remained, in a sense, the centre of war or peace, the centre of gravity from which political problems came and political

conflicts arose, and it became the fashion and the custom to consider Asia as a kind of fringe of Europe, and Asia's problems as somehow minor parts of European problems. With the result that the great problems of Asia were rather neglected and enough attention was not paid to them, whether in the political sphere or the economic sphere. Now, that neglect and that ignoring in the past has resulted in something which is not very desirable. If we had not neglected them in the past, perhaps we might have come somewhat nearer an understanding and a solution of some of Asia's problems. I do not mean to say that Asia was forgotten. Enough attention was paid to it in a sense. What I mean to say is this that the perspective was something different. People thought in terms, as I said, of Asia or Africa being a kind of fringe of Europe. Now things have happened in the world which have resulted in giving an inevitable importance to Asia and that importance is likely to become greater and greater. We are today passing through a very vital and important stage in world's history. When another shift takes place, you might say, in the centre of gravity and therefore, it becomes quite essential for us to understand this whole business, because if we do not, what happens in Asia is likely to have powerful effects not only on the whole of Asia but in Europe and in the rest of the world. Therefore, it becomes important for us to consider the world's problems in proper perspective. It becomes important for the great statesmen of the world, of the United Nations and the rest, to see these things in proper perspective. I have sometimes said this before because I do feel that there has been a lack of perspective, whether it is in the United Nations, or in the Unesco or any other organization which has grown out of the United Nations.

I know there is a good deal of goodwill. I know that there is a desire to do things, but what I want is not goodwill and a desire to do things merely. I want an appreciation of the fact that Asia is important, and that Asia will be dominant, dominant not in the sense of dominating anybody, dominant in the sense of creating problems which dominate the world. It is today creating those problems and if they are ignored, whether it is a problem of war or peace or hunger or poverty, it will affect the rest of the world and will engulf people in other parts of the world, if they are not very careful about it. It is extraordinary how we cannot get out of the ruts of our own thinking and old habits. The world changes and yet the mind of man, which probably ought to be capable of changing more rapidly than anything else, somehow remains static. It is an extraordinary thing. The mind of man, I take it, is the greatest thing that has been provided in a long course of evolution. It is the finest flower of millions of years of growth. It is so, and yet that very mind of man becomes so static that in a changing world it does not adapt itself to changing conditions rapidly enough, and so disaster comes. Well, Asia is changing and changing rapidly not because you like it or I like it or anybody likes it, but because facts are such that they have made change inevitable and essential. So I want you to consider your problems in this context and in the light of this background. So far as the political aspect is concerned, let the United

Nations deal with it. But, as I said behind the political aspect lie all kinds of mass upsurges and working of men's minds. Therein the Unesco can do a tremendous job. And so I am glad that the Unesco is spreading out more and more, and spreading out not only to the countries of Asia and Africa, I hope, but spreading out in the sense that it is descending from an ivory tower attitude. There is always a danger in such an organization of living in the mental attitude of being in an ivory tower. The Unesco attracts very eminent men and women, educationists, scientists and the like, the best that this world produces. There is a risk that these very eminent men may live in their ivory towers and thus lose sight of these vital happenings and human earthquakes that are happening or are likely to happen. They have, therefore, to descend from that tower and think of these problems from the point of view of the human masses who are in motion and try to adjust themselves to them and understand them. So if I may make this suggestion in all humility, the problems that come up before you should be considered from the point of view of what is happening and what is likely to happen in Asia and the world, not from a theoretical point of view, not just from the point of view of adult education, mass literacy and such approaches. The time has long passed when a thinking person talked only of doling out mass literacy. We want adult education, we want culture and all that. But these are very minor things; something infinitely bigger has to be thought in a bigger context. The bigger context of a changing, dynamic, revolutionary upsetting world, that is here before us, and if we do not proceed fast enough and quick enough to deal with this situation, then your other minor programmes also do not succeed or are swept away.

And another thing, to my thinking another tremendous service the Unesco can do, a very important thing. Today in the world, there is obviously a tremendous sense of frustration in men's minds, a tremendous search after lost values and standards, with the result that we have not got or most people have not got any anchorage or any yard measure by which they can judge events or policies or their own actions. We are swept hither and thither. Unless we find some yard measure, some standard of values, it will not be good for us or for humanity. After all the whole history of human evolution points to some thing or other, points to some kind of objectives, which humanity aims at, even though those objectives change from time to time. If those objectives become just, if I may use a word which I do not particularly like, just material objectives, I cannot myself see or understand how they will solve any fundamental problems of ours. There have to be some other standards, you may call them moral standards. What the test of morality is, is again a different matter. Nevertheless, I think it is quite essential that certain fundamental values should be appreciated, should be realized, and should be worked up to. And I think it is the business more especially of this great organization, the Unesco, to see to it that these values are maintained. Otherwise, we shall work in our narrow, bigoted grooves, and we shall fight and struggle because there will be no common binding factor amongst us. And in the great race that is going

on in the world today, between not powers, great powers and less powers, but something which cuts across countries, which cuts across powers and others, it is in the minds of men. The race, if you like, it is in the minds of men. The race, if you like, is between the powers of construction and building up and the powers of destruction. In that race, unless we have that anchorage and those standards, the powers of destruction will win. And therefore, it is highly important that we should, this organization should, lay stress and should try to develop these standards in a proper way.

I have ventured to put before you two or three ideas and I should like those ideas to be correlated to one another in so far as they can be. That is to say, the first thing is the new and the vital importance of Asia in the world context of today. I am not merely talking as an Indian in the Indian context—of course it is important for me—but in the world context. Secondly, in Asia, and in the rest of the world to some extent too, but for the moment in Asia the vast upsurge is taking actual shape which you can see or not, I cannot say, but there is the upsurge taking place all over in men's minds. How to deal with it? How to deal with the basic problems that caused that upsurge? And thirdly this question of moral and spiritual values in life. Unless we can see all these things together, correlate them, I am afraid our efforts will be rather useless. We put up fine buildings, institutes and the like; no doubt, they result in producing good men and good women, trained men and women. We should do that. But I have a feeling sometimes that they miss the core of the problem which is something deeper than all that. So I should like this organization not only to do those good works which I have mentioned, but always to think of that core of the problem, to think of the disease that is infecting humanity, and of the remedies that we must seek for it.

I am very glad that this National Commission is taking shape in India. I hope that in the consideration and solution of these big problems, India will be prepared to undertake her share of responsibility and to carry her share of the burden. I do not presume to say, and I do not like anybody saying, that India is cut out for any leadership here or anywhere else. I dislike this business of leadership. We have had enough of leadership of other countries which in the name of leadership has assumed other shapes and forms. So I dislike this business of any person saying that India is going to be the leader. The only way to approach these problems is to give up this conception of our being superior to others. It is a bad thing for any country, for any group, as for any individual to go about with these superior airs. But it is inevitable that, situated as we are in India, geographically, historically and culturally, a peculiar burden is cast upon us. It is a heavy burden and a heavy responsibility. Nevertheless we cannot shirk it, and we do not want to shirk it. So I welcome you all and commend your labours.

3. Cable to B.N. Rau¹

It is proposed that India should seek election to the Security Council at the next meeting of the General Assembly. There is no member State of the United Nations which so abundantly satisfies the requirements of Art. 23² of the United Nations Charter as India does for a place in the Security Council.

2. Three seats in the Security Council will be vacated by Argentina, Canada and Ukraine at the end of the year. In all probability Argentina will be replaced by a South American State and Ukraine by a State in Eastern Europe. India is entitled by every criterion to take the third vacant seat. At the London Session of the General Assembly in 1946, the five major powers came to an informal agreement that one seat would be allocated to a country in South East Asia, or to a member of the British Commonwealth.³ South East Asia is not represented at all and Asia itself is most inadequately represented in the Security Council. Whatever may be India's formal position in the Commonwealth it has been made clear that India, as a Republic, will not sever all ties with the Commonwealth.

3. We would be grateful if you could begin to take soundings regarding India's candidature for the Security Council and communicate to us the reactions of the more important delegations at Lake Success. In view of their numerical preponderance the South American States are specially worth cultivating.⁴

1. New Delhi, 16 April 1949. File No. 42(3)/48-PMS.
2. Under Article 23, the General Assembly elects the non-permanent members of the Security Council.
3. On 12 January 1946, U.K., U.S.A., U.S.S.R., China and France came to an agreement to that effect.
4. In October 1949 India was elected to the Security Council in place of Canada, while Ecuador and Yugoslavia replaced Argentina and Ukraine respectively.

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EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

IV. General Matters

1. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
February 25, 1949

My dear Krishna,

I should like you to come to Delhi though not just yet. As you know we would like you to overhaul the staff of India House from the point of view of efficiency and we intend sending some one from here, probably Dutt² to assist you for a while as he is dealing with this matter at this end and he should be in intimate touch. If necessary Bajpai could go for a short while later. When these processes are more or less completed, you could come here to discuss this and other matters. In any event, I am very busy till the first week of April or so.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. Subimal Dutt, Additional Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations.

2. The Need for an Independent Foreign Policy¹

Mr. Speaker, Sir, this House is no doubt interested in the many aspects of our foreign policy and foreign affairs and how they affect India, and questions are often put on these various aspects. Probably, in the course of the debate today, attention will be drawn to many of these factors, but with your permission, Sir, and the indulgence of the House, I should like to deal with the general aspects of foreign affairs and foreign policy as they affect India and as we look at them rather than to say much about the smaller aspects of this main problem.

1. Speech during the debate on demands for grants relating to the Ministry of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, 8 March 1949, *Constituent Assembly (Legislative) Debates, Official Report*, Vol. II, Part II, 24th Feb-18th March 1949, pp. 1225-1236.

Even before that, I should like to say something in the nature of a general survey not only of foreign affairs, but of India itself. We have had in the course of the last few days a great deal of criticism of the Budget proposals² and many of the failings of Government have been pointed out with, more or less, force. So far as I am concerned, I welcome every type of criticism and I do believe that it would be unfortunate if this House became just, shall I say, a static House, a subservient House, a House which just says "Yes" to anything that the Government might put forward. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, and every member of this House has to be vigilant and the Government, of course, must be vigilant. But there is always a possible tendency for those in authority to become a little complacent. Therefore, I repeat that for my part I welcome the vigilance of honourable Members of this House in drawing our attention to our failings or any other error or delinquency on the part of the Administration. I hope that criticism is offered in good spirit, in a friendly way, and that it does not challenge the *bona fides* of the Government. Of course, if the *bona fides* of the Government are sought to be challenged, I do not mind that, provided it is clear that is the issue.

I have felt in listening to these criticisms during these days or reading about them that perhaps we are concentrating too much on the trees and not looking at the whole wood. We are not looking at the whole picture of India today and what has happened in the course of the last eighteen months or so. It is rather important for us to keep this whole picture before us, or else any amount of attention to detail would not help us, because it is that big picture that counts—not the small parts of it here and there. Look at this picture eighteen or nineteen months ago and look at it today. Look at it, as far as you can, objectively, as if you were at a distance and saw this changing scene. I think if you could transport yourself to the period a year and a half ago and to all that was happening then and to all that has happened since then, I think you will find that there has been not only a great change in India, but that India has gone ahead in many ways in spite of all our difficulties and all the travails that we have passed through.

Speaking for myself and the House realizes that our Government, to some extent particularly myself—we have had to carry very heavy burdens and we have to carry them still and there are great difficulties ahead of us; nevertheless, in all honesty, I have a feeling of achievement, not failure and I look upon the future and may

2. The budget with a deficit of Rs. 14.79 crores was generally criticized as a disappointment to the common man, while providing moderate relief to the business community. Among various budget proposals there was some relief in respect of income tax and super tax; abolition of the capital gains tax and the export duty on oilseeds and vegetable oils; a rebate of duty on aviation spirit and industrial raw material. But postal rates were increased and so were customs and central excise duties; a new export duty was imposed on cigars and cigarettes. The additional taxation of Rs. 20 crores, according to Matthai, would ultimately convert the deficit to a small surplus of Rs. 45 lakhs.

I say I do not mean the distant future but the near future with full confidence, and I feel a certain secret emotion at being privileged to participate in the service of India at this tremendous stage of her history.

May I say, as you have referred to the Budget proposals, that this Budget itself contains provisions many of which may not perhaps be pleasing to some members, may be we might have done better here and there, but the Budget itself, I think, is a sign of our strength and the strength of the nation. I think that the House and the country will see that the care and foresight given to this Budget by our Finance Minister will be repaid in full measure in the months and years to come. We have proceeded cautiously, because, frankly speaking, we dare not take risk with this great trust we have got. Many a thing that we would like to do we have refrained from doing, because we cannot gamble with India's future or India's present. It is too serious a matter for us to go ahead even with our own theories or ideas on the subject, if there is any risk or danger involved in them. So we have proceeded cautiously. It may be that somewhat quicker results might come to us if we were a little more dashing in this matter, but I personally entirely agree with this cautious approach at this present critical time. And apart from any small matters here and there, I should like to pay my tribute to my colleague, the Finance Minister, for the courage and vision and high ability with which he has tackled our problems.

The Indian Union is an infant State, an infant free State, a year and a half old, but remember that India is not an infant country. India is a very ancient country with millennia of history behind her—history in which she has played a vital part not only within her own vast boundaries, but in the world and in Asia in particular. India now, in this last year or more, emerges again in to the main trend of human affairs.

Now, that is something of great historical significance. India I said, I could have said that Asia, emerges in this main trend of history. Asia, in the long millennia of history, has played a very important part. So has India, of course, but during the last two hundred years or so, certain developments of science and technology in Europe, and America a little later, led to Asia coming under the domination of Europe and to a restriction of her activities in the world at large. She became confined and restricted. Various changes took place internally in India and in Asia during this period. But, generally speaking, India and other countries of Asia were under this political and economic domination of Europe. Now, that period and that epoch has ended and India now comes I think into the forefront in national affairs and world events.

One of the major questions of the day is the readjustment of the relations of Asia and Europe. When we talk of Asia, remember that India, not because of any ambition of hers, but because of the force of circumstances, because of geography, because of history, and because of so many other things—inevitably has to play a very important part in Asia. And not only that; India becomes a kind of meeting

ground of various trends and forces and a meeting ground between what might roughly be called the East and West.

Look at the map. If you have to consider any question affecting the Middle East, India comes into the picture inevitably; if you have to consider any question concerning South East Asia, you cannot do so without India. So also about the Far East. So, while the Middle East may not be directly connected with South East Asia, both are connected with India. So, even if you think in terms of regional organizations in Asia, you may have to keep in touch with the other regions. And whatever regions you may have in mind, India's important part cannot be ignored. So India plays a very important role in Asia.

Now, I said, one of the major questions of the day is the readjustment of the relations between Asia and Europe. In the past, especially by virtue of her economic and political domination, the West ignored Asia, or at any rate did not give her the weight that was due to her. Asia was really given a back seat and one unfortunate result of it was that even the statesmen did not recognize the changes that were taking place. There is, I believe, a considerable recognition at this stage, but it is not enough yet. Even in the Councils of the United Nations, the problems of Asia, the outlook of Asia, the approach of Asia have failed to evoke the enthusiasm that they should. There are many ways of distinguishing between what may be called the approach of Asia and the approach of Europe. Asia today is primarily concerned with what may be called the immediate human problems. In each country of Asia—underdeveloped countries more or less—the main problem is the problem of food, of cloth, of education, of health. We are concerned with these problems. We are not directly concerned with problems of power politics. Some of us, in our minds, may perhaps think of that. Europe, on the other hand, is also concerned with these problems no doubt which come from the possession of power. They have the fear of losing that power and the fear of somebody else getting greater power and attacking one country or the other. So that the European approach is a legacy of the past conflicts of Europe. It is no good blaming this country or that country for that. It is a legacy and the consequences of the past conflicts of Europe—Europe having been the dominating continent in the world, quarrelling sometimes within its own area for the domination of the world. Well, that domination is largely gone. That legacy of conflict remains in Europe.

Sir, I do not mean to say that we in Asia are in any way superior, ethically or morally, to the people of Europe. In some ways I imagine we are worse off. There is a legacy of conflict in Europe. In Asia at the present moment at least there is no such legacy. The countries of Asia may have their quarrels with their neighbours here and there, but there is no basic legacy of conflict such as the countries of Europe possess. Now, that is a very great advantage for Asia and it would be folly in the extreme for the countries of Asia and India to be dragged in the wake of the conflicts in Europe. We might note that the world progressively

tends to become one—one in peace and it is likely to be one, in a sense, in war. No man can say that any country can remain apart when there is any major conflagration. But still one can direct one's policy towards avoiding this conflict and being entangled in it.

So the point I wish the House to remember is this. First of all, this emergence of India in world affairs is something of major consequence in world history, not because we are giant figures. We who happen to be in the Government of India or in this House, are men of relatively small stature. But it has been given to us to work at a time when India is becoming a great giant again. So, because of that, in spite of our own smallness, we have to work for great causes and perhaps elevate ourselves in the process.

When India became independent a year and a half ago, we chose the time, or if you like, fate and circumstance chose the time for us, which was one of exceeding difficulty. There were the damages and the consequences of the last great war. And immediately after we were independent, there were volcanic upheavals in India. It would have been difficult enough for us if there had been complete peace in India to face all the problems that had accumulated during the period of our arrested growth in the past. But added to that came new problems of colossal magnitude. How we faced them the House remembers, and it will be for history to record whether we failed completely or we succeeded or succeeded partially. Anyhow we survived and that at any rate was some success. Anyhow we survived and made good in many ways, apart from mere survival. And gradually we have overcome those problems and gradually we have made India a single political unit. And may I point out to this House that the political unit that is India today is, in terms of population, the largest political unit in the world? But population and numbers do not count, it is quality that counts. I would say further that from the point of view of our potential resources and our capacity to use those potential resources, we are also potentially the biggest unit in the world. I say that not in any spirit of vainglory, but let us recognize the huge trust we have in our keeping and let us, then think of it in terms of the great burden and the great responsibility upon us, and not in smaller terms. Now this is the background.

Shall I put to you another background? That was this. We, the great majority of the members of this House and vast numbers of people in this country, have spent our lives in what might be called a revolution, etc. and now we sit in the seats of authority and have to deal with problems, difficult problems. That adjustment is not an easy adjustment at any time for anyone, more especially now. Then again, not only were we revolutionaries and agitators and breakers of many things, but we were bred up in a high tradition under a great man. That tradition was an ethical tradition, a moral tradition, and at the same time an application of these ethical and moral doctrines to practical politics. The great man placed before us a technique of action which was unique in the world, which combined political

activity and political conflict and a struggle for freedom with certain moral ethical principles. Now I dare not say that any of us, not all of us, lived up to those ethical and moral principles but I do dare say that in the course of the past 30 years or so, all of us in smaller or greater degree, and the country itself in smaller or greater measure, was affected by those ethical and moral doctrines of the great master and leader. And now with that idealism and ethical background we face practical problems and it becomes an exceedingly difficult thing to apply that particular doctrine to the solution of those problems. That is a conflict which individuals and groups and nations have often had to face. It came to us in very peculiar circumstances and it was intensified by those circumstances and so there has been this travail of the spirit in most of us.

We have often thought of Gandhiji and his great doctrine, of his great message and while we praised it often enough, we felt, 'Are we hypocrites, talking about it but being unable to live up to it? Are we deluding ourselves and the world?' Because if we were hypocrites, then surely our future is dark. We may be hypocritical about the small things of life, but it is a dangerous thing to be hypocritical about the great things of life. And it would have been the greatest tragedy if we exploited the name and prestige of our great leader, took shelter under it and denied in our hearts, in our activities, the message that he had brought to this country and the world. So we have had these conflicts in our minds and these conflicts continue, and perhaps there is no final solution of these conflicts except to try continually to bridge the gulf between that idealism and that practice which is forced down upon us by circumstances. For after all if we are in charge of any work, if we are in seats of authority and responsibility to face a particular situation, we can only do so, on the one hand according to the way that we think will meet that situation. We cannot and I am quite positive that our great leader would not have had us function as blind automats just doing the same thing which he had said without reference to changes in events. On the other hand, we have to keep in mind those very ideals to which we pledged ourselves so often. There is always a great difference between the approach to a problem of a prophet and a great statesman, and so we cannot be judged by that high standard. All we can say is that we should do our utmost to live up as far as we can to that standard, but always judging a problem by the light of our own intelligence, otherwise we will fail. There is this grave danger, on the one hand, of denying the message of the prophet, on the other, of blindly following it and missing all its vitality. Both happen. By just repeating some phrase or dogma without realizing what truth lay behind it and thus perhaps killing the spirit of the prophet even more than by denying that message. We have, therefore, to steer through these.

Then a politician or statesman, call him what you will, has to deal not only with the truth, but with men's receptivity of that truth, because if there is not sufficient receptivity of it from the politician's or statesman's point of view, that

truth is thrown into the wilderness till minds are ripe for it. And certainly a statesman cannot function and in a democratic age much less can he function unless he can make people believe in that truth. So unfortunately, but inevitably, compromises have to take place from time to time. You cannot do without compromises, but a compromise is a bad compromise if it is opportunist in the sense that it is not always aiming at the truth. It may be a good compromise if it is always looking at that truth and trying to take you there. So in the past year and a half we have faced these difficult problems, and the difficulty has been obvious enough to many, but perhaps not many have thought of this travail of the spirit under which we suffered all the time; and this fear that we are becoming too much slaves of events, carried away by them, too much opportunists, and it may indeed be very difficult to draw the line. So all we can do is to pull ourselves back occasionally, look at our activities and examine them from that high standard which was laid down and try to remain as near to it as possible.

It was a curious thing that we who carried on the struggle for freedom in a nonviolent and peaceful way should immediately have to be confronted with violence in its intense form, civil violence as well as, what may be called, military violence, that we should have to undertake a kind of war in a part of the country. The whole thing seemed to be a complete upset of all that we stood for; and yet circumstances were such that I am quite convinced that we had no other way, and that the way we took was the right one.

May I mention to the House that towards the end of October 1947, when this question of Kashmir suddenly came upon us, when we heard that raiders had come into Kashmir and were destroying and looting, it was a very difficult question for us to decide. It was difficult enough from the military point of view, because we were isolated and far away, and the sending of arms or troops by air was no light undertaking from the purely military point of view. But the real difficulty before us arose from inside, it was a difficulty of the spirit. Where will this land us in? That was the difficulty. On the one hand, there was the powerful call of the people of Kashmir, those people who were being attacked and destroyed. We could not say "No" to them. On the other hand, we did not quite know where it would lead us. And in that difficulty of the spirit I went—as I often did—to Mahatma Gandhi for his advice. It was not natural for him to give advice about military matters. What did he know about them? His struggles were struggles of the spirit. But listening to me, if I may with all respect say so, he did not say "No" to the course of action that I proposed. He saw that a Government, as we were, had to follow its duty even in the military line, when certain circumstances arose. And throughout those few months, before he was taken away from us, I conferred with him on many an occasion about Kashmir, and it was a great happiness to me that I had his blessings in the steps we took.

So, looking back on this year and a half, we have built up India as a single organized political unit, and in this, as the House knows, my respected colleague,

the Deputy Prime Minister, has played a supremely vital part. We have some little way further to go in that matter. But I hope those further problems also will be settled very soon. There is the problem of Kashmir. There are the problems of what are called foreign possessions in India, Pondicherry, Chandernagore, Goa, and the rest. And all along we have stated that we want a peaceful and cooperative solution in regard to these foreign possessions. But it is quite clear that there is only one future for these possessions, and that is complete integration with India. We are prepared to wait a little for it, to avoid conflict etc. We do not want that, we want peaceful solutions of these and other problems. But it is an inconceivable thing that in this new, resurgent India, bits of territory should belong to powers far away. So we are trying to the best of our ability to find a peaceful solution of these problems.

May I point out another thing? The House, very rightly, is vigilant about avoidance of waste, about growth in our administrative services etc. There is an Economy Committee sitting, and there are other committees considering this problem. That is right. But please remember that the Government of India which has been functioning since the 15th August, 1947 has had to face many other problems than any other Government of India had to face previously. First of all, the previous governments, although they were endowed with certain social objectives, they did not think of them as primary functions, or of the same importance as we necessarily must. Secondly, take this field of foreign affairs about which I am speaking. There were no foreign affairs then. It has been an entirely new adventure for us, building up our foreign and international position. This has meant necessarily additions to our staff here and in foreign countries, large additions and large expenditure of money. It may be that some economy is possible; but that should be considered and looked into. But you cannot be an independent nation, and not have those foreign relations—the two are incompatible. Indians are spread out all over the world. We have to look after their interests. Apart from Indians living in other countries, we have various interests, trade interests and other interests. We have to buy things. We have to sell things. It is quite impossible for any independent country, more especially a great and big country like India, to carry on its normal existence without these foreign relations, with foreign establishments, foreign embassies, legations, trade missions and the like.

I mention this because often enough there is criticism of our spreading out all over the world with our foreign embassies etc. It is perhaps thought that this is just a gesture to satisfy our own vanity. And I am told, sometimes, that I have got some kind of a bee in my bonnet; that I forget the troubles in India, and I do not consider them, our domestic problems, that I think only of sending Ambassadors from Timbuktu to Peru. Well, I should like the House to consider this matter and be quite clear about it, because to refer to Timbuktu and Peru in

this connection does not appear to me to be the height of wisdom.³ It shows quite an extraordinary lack of appreciation of what India is, and what internally and domestically India requires. If we do not go out and have our foreign establishments, somebody will have to look after our interests. Who is that somebody? Are we going to ask England to look after our foreign interests in other countries as Pakistan has done in many countries? Is that the type of independence that we imagine? What does independence consist of? It consists fundamentally and basically of foreign relations. That is the test of independence. All else is local autonomy. Once foreign relations go out of your hand, into the charge of somebody else, to that extent and in that measure, you are not independent. So, if we are an independent nation, we must have foreign relations. In fact, we cannot carry on without them. If we had foreign relations we have to have the establishment necessary to carry on those foreign relations. And foreign relations though they involve trade, business etc. are not like opening a branch or firm, as sometimes some of our business magnates seem to imagine. It is a very intricate and very difficult business dealing with the psychology of human beings, the psychology of nations, with their background and culture—linguistic and so on and so forth. It is an exceedingly difficult business—the relationship between nations. So we have rather rapidly developed our Foreign Service from scratch. It has been a difficult business and it would be absurd for me to say that everything we have done in the development of our Foreign Service has been entirely to my satisfaction. But I would like to say from the experience I have gathered during the last eighteen months or so, that we have done on the whole remarkably well, and that the test—the one test of that of course—is the status of India in the eyes of the world. That is a good test. Individuals may have erred here and there. But ultimately as the final result—does our foreign policy yield results or not? Does it deliver the goods or not? I think it has delivered the goods to some extent—to a considerable extent: indeed to a surprising extent. I should like to express my high appreciation here in this House of the work of many of our Ambassadors and Ministers abroad and of the work of our Delegations to the United Nations; and allow me to inform the House that the reputation of India in the United Nations Assembly is very high.

Our three chief foreign missions are, as the House knows, in London, in Washington and in Moscow. There have been criticisms about relatively small matters. It may be about appointments and the like. I will not go into them. But I should like to tell the House, speaking always as Foreign Minister, that I would welcome any enquiry which is brought to me and I shall either enquire into it or

3. On 5 March 1949, J.B. Kripalani said "Our reputation in the international world is very high; it would appear that we have achieved more Swaraj in foreign lands than in our own country. If we are isolated and look only to our country, we will not be as philanthropic as we would be if we spent a little more and sent our representatives to every possible country, from China to Peru and from the North Pole to Timbaktu."

give the information that I have in my possession to any Member of the House at any time. There are bound to be many such things deserving enquiry, arising out of a vast establishment. I think these principal Missions of ours in London, Washington and Moscow have done remarkably well. In China we have had to face very difficult situations and our Embassy there has faced them with great credit.⁴ In Paris we have had a succession of misfortunes due to many causes, but chiefly that we have hardly had any place to stay in for a year. There is no proper place and they have lived in very undesirable quarters. On the whole, we have succeeded in building up our Foreign Service in a very short time with considerable success. Naturally, we shall go on trying to improve it.

Then the main question that troubles this House often enough is the position of Indians abroad. Now that question has to be viewed in a different light from what it used to be in the past. In the past our main effort was to get the British Colonial Office to interest itself in bettering the conditions of Indians abroad. Now we as an independent nation have to deal with other independent nations. Naturally, we try to do our best. I believe the conditions of Indians abroad are being bettered, but the main thing that has happened is this, that the status of Indians abroad in the eyes of the world has gone up tremendously. Naturally, the coming of freedom and the independence of India—that in itself helps in bettering their conditions.

The problems we have to face in world affairs at the present moment bear a great deal of relation to the conflicts that are going on. We have stated repeatedly that our foreign policy is one to keep apart from big blocs of nations—rival blocs—and to be friendly to all countries and not become entangled in any alliances, military or other, that might drag us into any possible conflict. Some people have criticized us and suggested to us that is not a good enough policy; that we are losing what we might get by a closer association or alliance. Others, on the other hand, have criticized us by saying that while we say one thing we act secretly or otherwise in another way. It is a little difficult, of course, to give an answer to an imputation of motives, but, as a matter of fact, we have very strictly followed that policy of not getting entangled in any kind of commitment—certainly not military—the question does not arise—with any other power or group of powers, and we propose to adhere to that policy, because we are quite convinced that that is the only possible policy for us at present and in the future. That does not, on the other hand, involve any lack of close relationship with other countries.

The House will remember that some time back I mentioned the question of India's possible relationships with the Commonwealth and I informed the House of the broad lines of our approach to this problem,⁵ and I gathered that the House agreed with that in spite of possibly some individual Members not agreeing with

4. The Kuomintang Government was replaced by the Communists in 1949.

5. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 9, p. 252.

it. Subsequently, the question was considered by the National Congress at its Jaipur Session and in broad lines they also laid down the policy to be pursued.⁶ So far as we are concerned, we propose strictly to adhere to those directions. Of course changing circumstances have to be understood and interpreted in different ways, but the broad lines of policy have been laid down and the broad lines of policy are these:

That India will naturally and inevitably in the course of a few months, may be, become an independent republic.

That in our external, or domestic policy, in our political policy, or in our economic policy, we do not propose to accept anything that involves us in the slightest degree of dependence on any other authority.

Subject to that, we are prepared to associate ourselves with other countries in a friendly way. We are associated today in the United Nations with a great number of countries in the world. Anything else that we might do will naturally have to be something that does not go against our association with the United Nations—that is within its structure. We have been associated with the Commonwealth that used to be called the British Commonwealth of Nations in the past in a way which was entirely unsatisfactory and we fought to get out of it, until we have completely achieved our objective in regard to independence. In practice, and in theory also, we shall achieve it completely and fully in the course of the next few months. Now, it is only in terms of independent nations cooperating together that we can consider the problem of our association with the Commonwealth. There may be, as some people have suggested, alliances with this or that nation. Alliances usually involve military and other commitments and they are more binding. Other forms of association which do not bind in this manner, but which help in bringing together nations for the purpose of consultation and, where necessary, of cooperation are, therefore, far more preferable than any form of alliance which does bind. What the outcome may be I do not know. As soon as I know I shall inform the House but what I am placing before the House today is this: that our policy in regard to this matter is going to be strictly determined by the Jaipur Congress resolution.

Recently there was a Conference on Indonesia held at India's instance in New Delhi and many countries from Asia came, there besides Egypt, Ethiopia, Australia and New Zealand. That Conference forcibly brought several matters before the world's eye and at that Conference one of the resolutions passed was that we should explore methods of closer cooperation.⁷ We are pursuing that line of enquiry and

6. The Jaipur Congress resolution of 18 December 1948 stated, "India, however, desires to maintain all such links with other countries as do not come in the way of her freedom of action and independence, and the Congress would welcome her free association with the independent nations of the Commonwealth for their common weal and the promotion of world peace."

7. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 9, pp.165-169.

perhaps in the course of a month or two or perhaps more we have some more definite results to consider: possibly we might have another conference to consider the possible lines of cooperation. Again, that cooperation can only be the cooperation of independent nations without the least commitment of any to the other. But it is a fact that there are so many matters in common between us that it is helpful for us to cooperate with one another. We have not yet decided as to what the region of cooperation might be, because, as I said a little while ago, India is interested in several regions of Asia, whether all should be grouped together or separately, I do not know. That is for us to consider together as to what is more feasible but in any event two facts have to be borne in mind. One is that whatever structure of cooperation we might build up will be entirely within the scope of the Charter of the United Nations. Secondly, there will be no binding covenants in it, but largely one of consultation and cooperation that naturally flow from common interests. So our policy will continue to be not only to keep aloof from power alignments, but trying to make friendly cooperation possible. Fortunately we enter upon our independence as a country with no hostile background in regard to any country. We are friendly to all countries. Our hostility during the last 200 years was mainly directed towards the dominating power here and because of India's independence that hostility has largely vanished, though it may survive in some people's minds, but that is not important. So we approach the whole world on a friendly basis and there is no reason why we should put ourselves at a disadvantage, if I may say so, by becoming unfriendly to any group. I think that India has a vital role to play in world affairs.

The various ideologies that confront the world today, the various "isms" which threaten conflict repeatedly may have a great deal, I think, to commend themselves, but all of them have been derived, if I may say so, from the background of Europe. Well, the background of Europe is not something apart from the background of the world and there is much in the background of Europe which is present in India or in other countries. Nevertheless, it is true that the background of Europe is not completely the background of India or the world and there is absolutely no reason why we should be asked to choose between this ideology or the other in toto. India is a country with a tremendous vitality which it has shown through its history; it has often enough imposed its own cultural pattern on other countries not by force of arms, but by the strength of her vitality, culture and civilization. There is no reason why we should give up our way of doing things, our way of considering things, simply because of some particular ideology which emanates from Europe. I have no doubt at all that we have to learn a great deal from Europe and America and I think that we should keep our eyes and ears completely open. We should be flexible in mind and we should be receptive; but I have also no doubt at all that we should not allow ourselves, if I may use the words of Gandhiji, we must not allow any wind from anywhere to sweep us off our feet.

So we should approach these problems, whether domestic or international problems, in our own way. If by any chance we align ourselves definitely with one power group, we may perhaps from one point of view do some good, but I have not the shadow of a doubt that from a larger point of view, not only of India but of world peace, it will do harm. Because then we lose that tremendous vantage ground that we have of using such influence as we possess—and that influence is going to grow from year to year—in the cause of world peace.

What are we interested in world affairs for? We seek no dominion over any country. We do not wish to interfere in the affairs of any country, domestic or other. Our main stake in world affairs is peace; our main stake in world affairs is to see that there is racial equality; our main stake in world affairs is that people who are still subjugated should be free. For the rest we do not desire to interfere in world affairs and we do not desire that other people too should interfere in our affairs. If, however, there is interference with us, whether military, political or economic, we shall resist it.

So it is with this friendly approach that we look at the world. It is true that in doing so we are often likely to be misunderstood, because passions have been roused all over the world and sometimes each country thinks that if you are not completely lined up with it you are its enemy or opponent. It is unfortunate if people think so; we cannot help it. We may sometimes even lose some petty advantage because of this fear and suspicion in other people's minds. But even now other countries are beginning to realize that we are playing an independent role, that we are not tied up to anybody, that we consider problems dispassionately and objectively, insofar as we can judge them on the merits and not from that other point of view, which is becoming very common, that is to say from the point of view of a certain manoeuvring for a possible future war. That is the point of view from which problems are dealt with today. If there is a future war what should be done now to better our position or to get this territory or this country on our side and prevent it from going to the other side?

It is not for me to criticize other nations and their policies. But I just do not see why India should function in that way or should become a part of this world manoeuvring that is going on. So we have to keep apart from that and at the same time develop the closest relations with all those countries. It so happens that because of history and chance our relations—economic and trade—are far greater with some countries than with others. Well, we will continue them, always seeing that they do not come in the way of our growth, do not hamper us in our progress.

The supreme question that one has to face today in the world is, how can we avoid a world war? Some people seem to think that it is unavoidable and, therefore, they prepare for it and prepare for it not only in a military sense, but in a psychological sense and thereby actually bring the war nearer. Personally, I think that is a very wrong and a very dangerous thing to do. Of course, no country dare

take things for granted and not prepare for possible contingencies. We in India must be prepared for any possible danger to our freedom and our existence. That is so. But to think in terms of the inevitability of world war is dangerous thinking. I should like this House and the country to appreciate what a world war means, what it is likely to mean. It just does not matter who wins in the world war, because it will mean such utter catastrophe that for a generation or more everything that we stand for in the way of progress and advancement of humanity will be put an end to. That is a terrible thing to contemplate and everything should be done to avoid this catastrophe. If it is unavoidable—of course we do not run away from anything because we are afraid of it—we have to face it. I feel that India can play a big part, and may be an effective part, in helping in the avoidance of war. Therefore, it becomes all the more necessary that India should not be lined up with any group of powers which for various reasons are in a sense full of fear of war and preparing for war. That is the main approach of our foreign policy and I am glad to say that I believe that it is more and more appreciated.

We are at the present moment on friendly terms with all countries. With our neighbours—with Pakistan I think the situation is improving from day to day. It is much better than it was a few months ago. I hope it will improve more. With Afghanistan and Nepal—although Afghanistan is not our immediate neighbour now; anyhow it has been our neighbour—we are on the friendliest terms with them. With other countries in Asia and in Europe our relations are getting closer and closer, our trade is expanding and so on and so forth. We should utilize this position I think in the United Nations and elsewhere to fulfil the cause of peace, and it is possible that a number of other countries which are not happy at the prospect of war may also support the attitude that India might take up when occasion arises in regard to it. We have dealt with questions in the United Nations as individual separate questions,—for instance, in regard to Korea, in regard to Palestine, in regard to some other matters too, and we have displeased people because we have dealt with individual questions and given our opinion on the merits. Of course the merits cannot be divorced from various other possible consequences. I think people have realized often enough that the advice that India gave and which was not accepted then, was the right advice and the trouble would have been far less if the advice had been accepted then.

There are many aspects of this question which I can speak about, but I have already taken a great deal of the time of the House. I would beg the House to look upon the matter from this wider point of view that I have placed before it, that is the emergence of India and Asia into this trend of human affairs, the inevitability of India playing an important part by virtue of her tremendous potential, by virtue of the fact that she is the biggest political unit in terms of population today and is likely to be in terms of her resources also. She is going to play that part. If we have to play that part we have to look upon this question from this bigger point of view and not from the small difficulties and problems that may face us and

that part must essentially be one of promoting peace and freedom in the world, of removing racial inequalities.

And may I in this connection say that it has been a matter of deep grief to learn about the racial riots that took place at Durban in South Africa?⁸ I do not wish to say much in regard to it, except that if racialism is encouraged anywhere it is bound to yield such trouble. But it is a matter of deep grief to us that Indians and Africans should be involved in such rioting. It has been, not today but over years past, our definite instructions to our envoys in Africa and elsewhere that we do not want Indians to have any special interests at the cost of the Africans anywhere. We have impressed upon them to cooperate with the Africans in gaining the freedom of those Africans and we have repeated these instructions again. I hope that after this unfortunate experience of Durban, Indians and Africans will come together again. Indeed there is evidence from East Africa and elsewhere of a great measure of cooperation between Indians and Africans.

So I hope that this House and this country will approve of the general lines of policy that I have suggested and indicate that it is India's desire to play this important part in favour of world peace and thereby perhaps help in avoiding that supreme catastrophe, that is a world war.

8. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 9, pp. 484-486.

3. A Constructive Foreign Policy¹

I am reluctant to take up the time of the House again but there are one or two matters on which perhaps I might be able to enlighten honourable Members, more especially my colleague, Shri Kamath, who has been ranging from militant neutrality to the audit of every pie.² May I inform him that if he wants

1. 8 March 1949. *Constituent Assembly of India (Legislative) Official Report*, Vol. II, Part II, 24th Feb-18th March 1949, pp. 1262-1263.
2. H.V. Kamath said that instead of taking shelter in the Commonwealth, India should stand on her own strength because "neutrality of the weak is no neutrality at all." A neutrality of the people just as Mahatma Gandhi had built up in 1942 was a sort of psychology which could be called "militant neutrality." He also suggested a close watch over the expenditure of the embassies, delegations and missions abroad. "We must have full audit, both pre-audit and post-audit."

militant neutrality I am going to be neither militant nor neutral? Therefore I disregard his suggestion and I am not going to follow the policy that he is advocating as it is a completely wrong policy. That is point No. 1. I shall explain why. I do not understand this business of neutrality. Neutrality comes in times of war. It has to be considered then. But it does not come in times of peace. It has no meaning whatever. It makes no meaning whatever by saying that 'I shall be a permanent neutral whatever happens.' Nobody can say that as nobody knows what will happen. To say that shows utter lack of appreciation of reality.

H.V. Kamath: May I ask what is the meaning of the neutral foreign policy that we are supposed to be pursuing?

JN: My friend Shri Kamath might have used that word; I have never used that word. I consider that expression completely wrong as a description of our policy. Our policy is a positive constructive policy as my colleague Dr. Keskar said.³ What I venture to point out is this. Normally speaking the foreign policy of every country is based on its own interests naturally and on certain interests, shall we say, of world peace or better relations with other countries. But the first thing that normally prevails is inevitably every country thinks of its own interests. When its own interests coincide with wider interests it becomes very anxious about those wider interests also. In any intelligent view of world affairs today one can say every country's interests lie in the maintenance and promotion of peace and the avoidance of war. That is the main thing. What happens in peace time is another matter. Normally in a country's foreign policy every item is considered on its merits—every matter that arises. When a country aligns itself with another country in times of war then they support each other apart from the merits of the case. So today in the United Nations, questions are often considered not on the merits but with a view to attaining a position, by manoeuvring or otherwise, so as to be strong enough to meet a possible war in future. That is the approach often enough on questions today. India's approach has been different, that is to say, while it naturally has to take all facts into consideration, in the main it considers the question on the merits. I gave one or two instances. I shall give another instance—the instance of atomic energy. When this matter came up before the United Nations at the Paris Session a few months back there was a great deal of difference of opinion between the two rival approaches.⁴ As it happened, the Committee that was appointed had

3. B.V. Keskar said, "we do not join this bloc or that; ours is a positive policy of encouraging peace and all forces of peace in the world."

4. At the United Nations Session in Paris from 22 to 29 September 1948, the United States proposed an International Atomic Development Authority to have a worldwide monopoly "on all phases of the development and use of atomic energy starting with the raw material." The Soviet Union rejected the plan and called for immediate prohibition of the production, stockpiling and use of atomic weapons and for the destruction of all existing stocks.

for its Chairman a distinguished Indian,⁵ and he brought quite a different approach to it, that is, a legalistic and judicious approach of trying to find out on the merits what should be done and not merely trying to counter this or that position. The approach was such a different approach that it immediately made its mark, and everybody in the U.N. felt that here is somebody considering the question judiciously on merits and not merely as a game of chess to counter the other. We, therefore, propose to consider every question on the merits and more especially in its relation to the problem of world peace: that is we want to minimize the conflicting elements and as far as possible to encourage those forces that tend to maintain peace. I do not wish to exaggerate our capacity to do so. May be we cannot do so; things have gone too far. May' be that our attempts appear rather ridiculous to some people. But the point is first the negative point that we do not wish to encourage hostility in the world, and secondly the positive point that we wish in so far as we can to encourage the positive policy of peace—maintaining peace within the countries, maintaining peaceful relations and not rushing into a fray against this country or that country in the excitement of the moment or otherwise which does not do any good and which merely adds to the bitterness of the situation. Therefore, our policy is not a policy of sitting on the hedge; it is not also a middle of the road policy as some people imagine. It is a positive policy of always seeking to do something which may somewhat lessen the tension of the moment and thereby possibly prevent any great catastrophe from happening, because that catastrophe will injure us tremendously as it will injure every other country in the world. As I said it will be presumptuous on my part to say that we can affect the pace of world events. I do not say so, that we can do it or that we are likely to affect it very much. Nevertheless, I think that we might affect it to some extent; to a small extent we do affect it. That extent might grow. It is worth trying and we are going to try.

This morning I ventured to say that India, by virtue of her past genius if you like, culture if you like, has got perhaps a special role to play. I generally do not encourage the idea, which is a peculiar product of intensive nationalism, of each person thinking his country as a chosen country of God—normally the people of each country think that they are the chosen people; whether it is in America or Europe or Asia, we all tend to think that we are the chosen race—I do not wish to encourage that idea. I am proud enough of my people, my country, my heritage, but it is a narrow-minded view to think that we are the chosen people and all the others are outside the pale. Nevertheless, I do think that India has played a

5. B.N. Rau was elected chairman of the 11-nation sub-committee to work out a compromise resolution to break the deadlock. He called upon the Atomic Energy Commission to resume and continue its work and to prepare a draft treaty as early as possible for submission to the Security Council. He wanted the General Assembly to approve and accept in substance the findings and recommendations of the Commission. Due to opposition of the United States and Polish delegates the Indian proposal was rejected but the sub-committee agreed to work towards agreement for an international treaty to control atomic energy.

tremendous role in history—a vital role—and in spite of her subject condition and degradation there is tremendous vitality in her, and now that the fetters and the bars that prevented her from going ahead have been removed that vitality will come into play again. That vitality has something distinctive about it. It may be that the distinctiveness may make a difference to world affairs. I think it might. It is a curious parallel if I place it before you, but still it helps a little. Today possibly the symbol of the West is the atom bomb. People think in terms of it. People are frightened of it. People prepare for it and devote all their energies to it. It is a curious combination; it is almost a symbol of the West today. You devote all your energies to promoting something which you fear most! Everybody is frightened of it. It is a terrific thing, and yet all energies are spent in making that. So the atom bomb has become the symbol of the age today so far as the West is concerned. I do not want to make the atom bomb the symbol of India. Our great leader gave us the spinning wheel as the symbol of India. That spinning wheel with a certain variation we adopted in our National Flag and thereby we brought in not only that idea of peace but also that ancient idea of Indian culture which is represented by this wheel for thousands of years in India. Now we may be unworthy people to come up to our great leader's expectations or to the symbol of the wheel in our Flag. Nevertheless, it does symbolize India. And that is the difference—the atom bomb on the one side and this wheel on the other. And, weak or strong, we shall stand by this wheel and carry on our foreign policy accordingly.

4. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Your telegram No. 5288 dated 14th March.² We have had no discussion oral or written with anyone regarding Pacific Pact. As you know we have had to deal with disruptive elements inside India with all our energy and resources in order to maintain authority of Government and to protect society against lawlessness and violence. There is no question of establishing any front against Russia or any other

1. New Delhi, 16 March 1949. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. Krishna Menon referred to a report in the British press about India's participation in a pact in the Pacific being negotiated between England and Australia for establishing a common front against Russia and communism. He sought Nehru's guidance as the report projected a role for India contrary to "your pronouncements."

power. Our foreign policy was reiterated in my speech in the Indian Parliament on 8th March and remains unaltered.

We do not propose to enter into pact which is not consistent with our general policy.

5. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
March 16, 1949

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter of the 16th March.² I think that the 4th and 5th May might be fixed for the Governors' Conference. I propose to leave for London on the 19th night from Bombay. This will mean my reaching London on the 20th, that is a day later for the conference if the conference is fixed for the 20th. I cannot go earlier and I have informed Attlee so. He might postpone the conference by a day or he might not.

We have fixed Chandralekha's wedding for the 14th April and on the 15th I shall have a party for her. The earliest Air India plane after that goes on the 19th. Hence, my inability to go before the 19th.

I have mentioned to Attlee that I do not wish to spend much more than a week there. But in my own mind I am keeping ten days. Various matters crop up which take time. Apart from this, however, I was thinking of paying a two-day visit to Berne in Switzerland. I think this is worthwhile. Dhirubhai³ has done very good work there and we hope to get a great deal of help from Switzerland in many ways. A visit from me would expedite many matters. There is no other place that needs an urgent visit, but I would have liked to spend a couple of days in Istanbul or Ankara. These visits are helpful and I have been repeatedly invited there. All this taken together would take a full fortnight. This might delay my return slightly. Would it be inconvenient for you to have the Governors' Conference just two or three days later, say the 7th and 8th of May, Saturday and Sunday, or even Friday and Saturday, the 6th and 7th.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Rajagopalachari enquired about the approximate date fixed for the proposed Governors' Conference.
3. Dhirubhai Desai was then posted in Switzerland as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from India.

6. Future of French Possessions¹

The Municipal Councils of some of the French possessions are meeting shortly to decide the date and other terms for the referendum which it is proposed to hold in order to decide the future of these French possessions. In October last, elections took place to these Councils in Pondicherry, Karaikal and Yanam.² These elections were very unsatisfactory and no arrangements were made for impartial observers to be present and to ensure that the elections should be fair. In Mahe there was trouble and many of the accredited leaders of the people were arrested.³ The elections were postponed there and were subsequently held in the absence of these leaders.

In view of the experience we have had of these Municipal elections, we are naturally apprehensive about the meeting of the Municipal Councils which will be held soon. It is quite essential that there should be proper observers present and that no pressure of any kind should be exercised.

India is not anxious to annex any territory. What we want is the freedom of every individual, man and woman, in this great country. The Indian National Congress has stated that it is inevitable that the foreign possessions in India should be incorporated with India politically and economically, though they should have autonomy and cultural freedom.⁴ Nevertheless, we have agreed to leave the decision for the present about their future to the people of these French possessions. But this right should be exercised in perfect freedom and with due safeguards to prevent any undue pressure. If this freedom is not present and the safeguards are absent, then the decision will be vitiated.

1. Note, 18 March 1949, J.N. Collection.
2. On 23 October 1948, municipal polls took place in all the French settlements.
3. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 8, pp. 308-309.
4. This was announced at the Jaipur Congress Session on 19 December 1948.

7. India's Foreign Policy and World Peace¹

Mr. Chairman² and Friends,

First of all may I congratulate you on the conception of having this dinner called

1. Speech at the Indian Council of World Affairs. New Delhi, 22 March 1949. P.I.B. reports and *The Hindustan Times*, 23 March 1949.
2. H.N. Kunzru.

the Annual Dinner Meeting. I think it is a good idea for an organization of this kind to meet periodically not only to feast together but also to have discourses, if you like, on certain subjects for which this organization is formed.³ There is just one suggestion which perhaps I may offer that in future dinners perhaps care might be taken to make them a little less hot. I say that as a victim of the chillies that have been used in the dishes.

I think the first matter which must be in your mind is the fact that two of our most eminent members who have built up this organization in the past passed away within the last few months, our President Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. Our Chairman referred to the Asian Conference that was held two years ago and connected my name with it.⁴ As a matter of fact, all of you know that Mrs. Naidu was not only the President of the Conference, but took enormous pains in spite of her illness and really made it the success that it was. There is a proposal that we should have a memorial for Dr. Sapru here in Delhi and that the memorial should take the form of a building with a hall and some rooms for this Indian Council of World Affairs. I feel it is an excellent proposal—a fitting memorial for Dr. Sapru and also something which is urgently needed here in Delhi. I hope there will be no difficulty whatever in raising sufficient funds for this memorial. All of you who are present here in such large numbers, if you take a little interest in this, the matter would be concluded very soon.

Now, although I welcome this opportunity of meeting you all at dinner, I am not quite sure if I or other Foreign Ministers who may come after me would always welcome the idea of having to speak on foreign policy. I sometimes think that it would be a good thing for the world if all the Foreign Ministers remained silent for some time. I think more trouble is being caused in foreign affairs by the speeches that the Foreign Ministers or their other representatives deliver either in their own respective Assemblies or in the United Nations. They talk about open diplomacy, and I suppose in theory most of us believe in it. Certainly, I have believed in it for a long time and I cannot say that I have lost that belief entirely. Open diplomacy is good enough, but when that open diplomacy takes the form of very open conflicts, and accusations and strong language hurled at each other, then the effect of that, I suppose, is not to promote peace. It becomes a contest, an open contest, in using violent language towards each other. Now, it is all very well to talk about foreign policy, but you will appreciate that no person charged with a country's foreign policy can say really very much about it. He can say something general about it; he can sometimes say something very specific about it when occasion arises, but

3. The Council was established in 1943 with a view to encourage the study of international relations and world affairs. It started functioning regularly in 1944.
4. The Asian Relations Conference was held in Delhi from 23 March to 2 April 1947. Two hundred and fifty delegates attended the Conference. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 2, pp. 512-516.

there are many things connected with it which are supposed to lie in what are called top-secret files. They are not frightfully secret despite that, but still they are not to be talked about in public.

Now, foreign policy in the past, I suppose, related chiefly to the relations of a country with its immediate neighbours—whether they were friendly or otherwise. As our Chairman reminded you, our neighbours now are all the countries of the world so that we cannot relate our foreign policy just to a few countries round about you, but have to think of practically every country in the world and take into consideration all the possible areas of conflict, trade, economic interest, etc. It has been recognized now that if there is a conflict on a big scale anywhere in the world, it is apt to spread all over the world, that is, that war has become indivisible and, therefore, peace is indivisible. Therefore, our foreign policy cannot limit itself to the nearby countries. Nevertheless, the nearby countries always have a special interest in one another and India must, inevitably, think in terms of its relations with the countries bordering her by land and sea. What are these countries? If you start from the left, Pakistan; I would also include Afghanistan, although it does not touch India's borders; Tibet, China, Nepal, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia and Ceylon. In regard to Pakistan, the position has been a very peculiar one owing to the way Pakistan was formed and India was divided. And there have been not only all the upsets that you all know, but something much deeper, and that is, a complete emotional upset of all the people in India and Pakistan because of this. It is a very difficult thing to deal with, a psychological thing, which cannot be dealt with superficially. A year and a half or more has passed, and there is no doubt at all that our relations have improved and are improving. There is also no doubt at all in my mind that it is inevitable for India and Pakistan to have close relations—very close relations—sometime or other in the future. I cannot state when this will take place, but situated as we are, with all our past, we cannot really be just indifferent neighbours. We can either be rather hostile to each other or very friendly with each other. Ultimately, we can only be really very friendly, whatever period of hostility may intervene in between, because our interests are so closely interlinked. It is an astonishing thing—this partition that has taken place, and although we know a great deal about it, because we have lived through these troubled times, nevertheless, it is interesting to list the things that were upset by it. All our communications were upset and broken. Telegraphs, telephones, postal services, railway services and almost everything as a matter of fact had been disrupted. Our services were broken up. Our army was broken up. Our irrigation systems were broken up and so many other things happened. If we go on making a list of all, there would be a large number of them. But above all, what was broken up which was of the highest importance was something very vital and that was the body of India. That produced tremendous consequences, not only those that you saw, but those that you could not imagine, in the minds and souls of millions of human beings. We saw enormous migrations as a result of them, but what was deeper

than that was the hurt and injury to the soul of India. While we are getting over it, as people get over almost any type of injury, we are again developing closer relations with Pakistan. There are many problems still to be solved, and I suppose they will gradually be solved.

So far as other countries are concerned, our relations with them are quite friendly. Take for instance, Afghanistan. Our relations with Afghanistan are exceedingly friendly and our relations with Tibet, Nepal and all these countries roundabout are also very friendly. In fact, I think I am justified in saying that there is no country in this wide world today with which our relations may be said to be inimical or hostile. Naturally we will be attracted more towards some or our trade or economic interests might link us more with some countries and less with others, but there can be no doubt about it that we are friendly with all and I think that is a good thing and some achievement.

If our neighbouring countries have in a sense first place in our minds, then the second place goes to the other countries of Asia with whom we are also fairly intimately connected. Now, India is very curiously placed in Asia and her history has been governed a great deal by the geographical factor plus other factors. Whichever problem in Asia you may take up, somehow or other India comes into the picture. Whether you think in terms of China or the Middle East or South East Asia, India immediately comes into the picture. It is so situated that because of past history, traditions etc., in regard to any major problem of a country or a group of countries of Asia, India has to be considered. Whether it is a problem of defence or trade or industry or other economic policy, India cannot be ignored. She cannot be ignored, because, as I said, her geographical position is a compelling reason. She cannot be ignored also, because of her actual or potential power and resources. Whatever her actual strength may or may not be, India is potentially a very powerful country and possesses the qualities and other factors that go a long way to make a country grow strong, healthy and prosperous. She is rich in those elements and, I think, she has a population which has the capacity to use those elements. Naturally we have our failings and the difficulties are there, but if you view the problem in a certain perspective, there can be no doubt in anyone's mind that India's potential wealth will become actual and in the not too distant a future.

Therefore, whatever our own views may be, by virtue of her practical position and other reasons that I mentioned, India is bound to play an important part in Asia—in all parts of Asia—whether it is Western Asia or Far East or South East. It so happens of course that even culturally speaking these bonds are very old and very persisting ones.

A very curious thing happened when, roughly speaking, the British power came to India and British dominion was established here. That was the reason why we were cut off from our neighbouring countries of Asia. Our contacts were then with England across the seas and while we to some extent struggled against that domination and resented those contacts, nevertheless, they were there and we saw

the world more and more through that window—through the British window. Very few people went to Asian countries from India and very few came here from there. And even those few people from Asia we met, we met in Europe and not in Asia. Now in recent years that process has been reversed or is being reversed for a variety of reasons. Originally I suppose the one major factor was air travel. Immediately air travel brought us into close contacts with our neighbours because if we went to Europe, we passed through Baghdad and Teheran and other places. Air travel was not the only factor, and there were other political reasons that are now bringing about this change. And more especially since India is now a free and independent country, you find several things happening. As you know the Asian Conference was convened two years ago and various matters of common interest were discussed there. I will tell you what happened about that Conference. When a proposal was made for that Asian Conference to be held—it was tentatively put forward—we did not quite know what the reaction to it would be. And invitations were sent to a number of countries and, I may tell you, we were amazed to find what the reaction was. It was an overwhelming reaction in favour of it and the Conference, as you very well know, was a very great success.

So you see something working in the mind of Asia, not only in India, but all over Asia. You find something germinating and whenever you give it a chance to come out, it comes out. We are convinced that there is a keen desire on the part of Asian countries to function together, to confer together and generally to look to each other. Possibly, that might be due, of course, to a certain resentment against the behaviour of Europe in the past. Undoubtedly it was partly a feeling that the Asian countries might still be exploited or dominated over by Europe or the countries elsewhere. But it was also I think largely due to a certain flowback in memory of our ancient contacts, for our literature is full of them. We earnestly hope that we shall be able to develop our contacts still more for our future growth. That is why whenever any such step is taken like the recent Conference on Indonesia in Delhi, there is immediately a good response. This Conference was held at a very short notice. But it attracted all these people. It attracted them no doubt because they were interested in Indonesia, but I think even more important than that was this desire to confer together and cooperate together, and a certain looking in the direction of India on the part of all these countries, a feeling that India might possibly play a fairly important part in this bringing together of Asian countries.

Some people talk rather loosely, and, if I may say so, rather foolishly, of India becoming the leader of this or the leader of that or the leader of Asia. Now, I do not like that at all. It is a bad approach, this business of leadership. But it is true that because of the various factors I have mentioned a certain special responsibility is cast on India. India realizes it, and other countries realize it also. The responsibility is not necessarily for leadership, but for taking the initiative sometimes and helping others to cooperate in this task.

There are many factors that join the countries of Asia together, apart from geography. There is the factor that for the last 150 or 200 years Asia has been dominated over by Europe, by certain European countries. Their imperialism came here, exploited this continent, dominated over it, and various consequences flowed from it. We are today rather overwhelmed with the recent history of 200 years of European domination. But if we look at the long process of history, going back much more than a few hundred years, we then get a truer perspective, and in that perspective, of course, whether you look at Asia, or whether you look at India, the period of any foreign domination is a very limited one. And now, after this foreign domination of most Asian countries has ended, and it will no doubt end soon, there is a certain process of finding oneself, which each of the Asian countries is going through in various stages of advance according to modern standards; there is this looking into oneself, finding oneself, feeling a certain assurance, self-confidence, fear also it may be in the case of some countries, because of economic and other weaknesses—but on the whole, finding oneself. This is also a certain binding factor.

Then again, the problems of Asia today are essentially problems of supplying what might be called the primary human necessities. They are not problems which might be called problems of power politics. Of course, every country to some extent has something to do with power politics in this world. But whichever countries we may take in Asia, one problem of course they always have, and that is preserving their freedom—the fear that somebody might take away their freedom. That problem is always there, quite apart from the fundamental problem, the problem of supplying our fundamental necessities—food, clothing, housing, health, education and the like. These are common problems all over the world undoubtedly, but a great part of the rest of the world has advanced in its standards much further than the countries of Asia. The countries of the rest of the world have room for still further advance no doubt, and they have suffered a great deal from the last war. They have had to make up the tremendous losses caused by the last war. Unfortunately the whole outlook of Europe in the past 100 years has been a different one. It has been an outlook of countries possessing great power and being afraid of losing that power, afraid of each other, or desiring to extend that power. So that today Europe is much more tied up with power politics than Asia is at present. I do not know about the future. There is a fundamental difference in approach in that way. And now, since the last war, Europe is tied up to a number of very grave problems and conflicts. If I may say, the past *karma* of Europe pursues it. We cannot easily get rid of the curse of our past *karma*; in various ways it pursues our country. But there is this basic difference, I think, in the European approach to problems and the Asian approach. The whole world wants peace; I have no doubt about it. And if there are some individuals who really want war, they cannot be many, and they cannot be completely balanced in mind. But what does happen is that in the case of people wanting war, a certain obsession, a certain fear, oppresses them, and, therefore,

whether they want or not, they go towards war. This terrible thing, this fear complex that we see all over the world today, or nearly all over the world. Europe is full of it at the present moment. Why Europe? Other parts of the world, too. And, of course, Asia has it too, and, I suppose, a good deal of it; but compared with Europe, I think, there is much less of it.

Let me put it in another way—the countries which have been the “haves” in the world are very much afraid of losing what they have, while countries not having had so much to lose are not obsessed by that fear so much. Anyhow, there are these different psychological approaches to these various problems.

Now, take the United Nations. The United Nations Organisation has most of the nations of the world in it, but it is true that it is dominated more or less by certain great nations of Europe and America, with the result that the main problems discussed there are the problems of Europe and America. Naturally we are interested in those problems, because they affect us too; and if there is war, obviously we are affected. But we cannot possibly get as excited about those problems as the people of Europe and America. For instance, this problem of Indonesia is more important to us than many European problems. Geography, if you like, or whatever the reason may be, but the real reason ultimately is not merely geography, but a feeling deep down in our minds that if some kind of colonial domination continues in Indonesia, if it is permitted to continue, it will be a danger to the whole of Asia—it will be a danger to us in India as well as to other countries. Further, if it is allowed to continue there, obviously it can only continue with the passive or active acquiescence of some of the great powers, the result being that those great powers who may acquiesce in it themselves become in the eyes of Asia partners to that guilt. This is an important point to remember, that it is not merely a political game of chess for us in India; it is, apart from the freedom of Indonesia, a most vital problem covering the whole of Australia, Asia, and perhaps America. From this point of view, Europe and America are being tested in the eyes of Asia, just as we may be tested in the eyes of Europe and America.

I give you one instance. Now, if I may be quite frank before you, I have no doubt that countries in Europe and America are themselves very much disturbed and distressed by what is taking place in Indonesia. They want to help Indonesia. I think they realize that Indonesian freedom is not only desirable in itself, but in the larger scheme of things which they have before them it is also desirable, and if by any chance any kind of imperialistic domination succeeds in Indonesia it will affect the larger plans they have for the future. And I realize that the Asian nations as a whole will be very much affected and our action in future might be governed by what happens in Indonesia. Therefore, I have heard that they are very anxious to solve the Indonesian problem satisfactorily to bring about freedom and independence in Indonesia. True, but then there comes the difficulty when you forget or you don't act up to certain definite principles. Any action taken in Indonesia concerns more especially the Indonesian people on the one side and the Netherlands

Government on the other. Now, in an entirely different context, some of the powers of Western Europe and America have, as you well know, arrived at a settlement in which the Netherlands Government is also included—the Atlantic Pact.⁵ They were apparently justified in doing that, in looking after their interests. It is another matter, I am not discussing that. But here a conflict comes in the minds of all those countries. While, on the one hand, they wish to have Indonesian freedom, on the other, they are very anxious to have the Netherlands in their political grouping. Sometimes they do not take up the strict and direct line that they may otherwise take up, because they are pulled in other directions by these very difficulties.

So that, while generally we may agree about various matters, the emphasis may be very different. We may make something No. 1 which for them is No. 2, and what is for them No. 1 may be No. 2 for us. Although we may not be against No. 2 it is nevertheless for us not No. 1. It does make a lot of difference as to what priorities you give to things. It makes all the difference in the world whether you give truth the first place or the second place in life and in politics.

The other day I was speaking about the foreign policy of India⁶, and naturally I was rather general because it is very difficult to be precise and particular. When we are students at colleges, we discuss almost all matters and problems and foreign policy and give expression to our opinions freely and frankly because we deal normally with these questions as if we have isolated them from other questions. It is fairly easy to give an opinion about any question isolated from others. But when you have to deal with the business of life, you find that no question is isolated from another. While you may say 'yes' in answer to a particular question, when you look at it in relation to other problems your 'yes' may well become 'no' or something in between.

Now, foreign policy is normally something which develops gradually. Apart from certain theoretical propositions you may lay down, it is a thing which, if it is real, has some relation to actuality and not merely to pure theory. Therefore, you cannot precisely lay down your general outlook or general approach, but gradually it develops. We are as an independent country a fairly young country, who have got all the advantages and disadvantages of being an ancient country. Nevertheless, in the present context of foreign policy we are a young country and, therefore, our foreign policy is gradually developing and there is no particular reason why we should rush in all over the place and do something that comes in the way

5. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization was signed at Washington on 4 April 1949 by the United States, Britain, Canada and France. Later they were joined by Holland, Belgium, Luxemburg, Italy, Denmark, Norway, Iceland and Portugal. The signatories agreed that an armed attack against anyone of them would be considered an act of aggression against all of them.

6. See *ante*, Section 10, sub-section 4, item 2.

of this gradual development. We may and we should express our general view as to where we wish to go and how we wish to go there, but laying down precisely our policy in regard to any particular country would probably lead us into some difficulties. As I said, our general policy has been to try to cultivate friendly relations with all countries, but that is something which any one can say. It is not a very helpful thought. It is almost outside, if I may say so, of politics. It may be just a verbal statement or a moral urge. It is hardly a political urge. Nevertheless, something can be said for it even on the political plane. We cannot perhaps be friendly always with every country. The alternative is to become very friendly with some and hostile to others. That is the normal foreign policy of a country—very friendly with close relations with some, and in consequence you are hostile to others. You may be very friendly to some countries and you cannot just be equally friendly with all countries. Naturally, you are more friendly with those with whom you have closer relations, but that great friendliness, if it is active friendliness, is good; if it merely reflects hostility to some other country, then it is something different. And ultimately your hostility raises other people's hostility and that is the way of conflicts and leads to no solution. Fortunately, India has inherited no past hostility to any country. Why should we then start this trend of hostility now with any country? Of course, if circumstances compel us it cannot be helped, but it is far better for us to try our utmost to keep clear of these hostile backgrounds. Naturally, again, we are likely to be more friendly to some countries than to others, because this may be to our mutual advantage. That is a different matter, but even so, our friendship with other countries should not, as far as possible, be such as brings us inevitably into conflict with some other country. Now, some people may think that this is a policy of hedging or just avoiding pitfalls, a middle-of-the-road policy. As I conceive it, it is nothing of the kind. It is not a middle-of-the-road policy. It is a positive, constructive policy deliberately aiming at something and deliberately trying to avoid hostility to other countries, to any country as far as possible.

How can we do that? Obviously, there are risks and dangers, and the first duty of every country is to protect itself. Protecting oneself unfortunately means relying on the armed forces and the like and so we build up, where necessity arises, our defence apparatus. We cannot take the risk of not doing so, although Mahatma Gandhi would have taken that risk no doubt and I dare not say that he would have been wrong. Indeed, if a country is strong enough to take that risk it will not only survive, but it will become a great country. But we are small folk and dare not take that risk. But in protecting oneself, we should do so in such a way as not to antagonize others and also as not to appear to aim at others' freedom. That is important. Also we should avoid by speech or writing anything which worsens the relationship of nations. Now, the urge to do or say things against countries, against their policies and sometimes against their statesmen is very great, because other people are very offensive at times; they are very aggressive at times.

If they are aggressive we have to protect ourselves against their aggression. If there is fear of future aggression we have to protect ourselves against that. That I can understand, but there is distinct difference between that and shouting loudly from the house tops all the time attacking this country or that—even though that country may deserve to be criticized or attacked. It does not help—this shouting business; it only makes matters worse, because this increases tremendously that fear complex to which I referred. And in the shouting that takes place on either side, logic and reason disappear, because people's passions are roused and ultimately they land themselves in war.

If war comes, it comes. It has to be faced. To some extent it has to be provided for and all the consequences of war have to be accepted with it if it comes. But surely we do not want war. As I said some time ago, I take it that the vast majority of people of this world do not want war. Then our policy should primarily aim at avoiding war or preventing war. That prevention of war may include providing for our own defence and you can understand that, but that should not include challenges, counter-challenges, mutual cursings, threats, etc. These certainly will not prevent war, but will only make it come nearer, because they frighten the other Governments and the other Governments issue similar challenges and then you are frightened and so everybody lives in an atmosphere of fear and anything may come out of such an atmosphere of fear.

Now, can any country, can India succeed in preventing this kind of mutual recrimination? Can we succeed, as we want to, in dealing with every question on its merits? Today international questions are looked upon from the point of view of how they will affect some future conflict, with the result that you find groupings on either side forgetful of the actual merits of the case. And a country like India which talks in a different language is looked upon as a nuisance in every way; unfortunately, not only as a nuisance, but every group suspects it of joining hands with the opposite group. But now, I think, there is a certain amount of realization by other countries that we really mean what we say. It is not some deep game or plot, and we mean to consider these questions on their merits, and, of course, merits include other factors also in relation to which we consider such questions. Take our attitude in regard to two or three recent issues—Korea, Palestine and the atomic energy business. This atomic energy business came up in the last session of the U.N. General Assembly in Paris, and there was a fierce debate on it as to what should be done. India was made a member of the committee appointed to consider this problem, and our distinguished representative on that committee, who is an ideal person for this kind of thing and who never gets excited—while others get excited he gives a calm and dispassionate thought to the problem—was able to change the atmosphere in the committee.⁷ Whether any wonderful result was achieved or not is not the point, but the way to achieve the result was shown by

7. See *ante*, item 3, fn.5.

us. Some countries refuse to be thrown off their feet whatever happens. Now, I do not say that we are so wise and steady on our feet that nothing pushes us off. Of course not. It is anyhow an attempt to stand on our feet, not to hop about or dance about or fall down.

May I say that I do not for an instant claim any superior vantage point for India to advise or criticize the rest of the world? I think we are merely trying not to get excited about these problems and anyhow there is no reason why we should not try that. It follows, therefore, that we should not align ourselves with what are called power blocs. We can be of far more service without doing so and I think there is just a possibility—and I shall not put it higher than that—that at a moment of crisis our peaceful and friendly efforts might make a difference and avert that crisis. If so, it is well worth trying. When I say that we should not align ourselves with any power blocs, obviously it does not mean that we should not be closer in our relations with some countries than with others. That depends on entirely different factors, chiefly economic, political, agricultural and many other factors. At the present moment you will see that as a matter of fact we have far closer relations with some countries of the Western world than with others. It is partly due to history and partly due to other factors—present-day factors whatever they may be. These close relations will no doubt develop and we will encourage them to develop, but we do not wish to place ourselves in a position where, politically speaking, we are just lined up with a particular group or bound up to it in regard to our future foreign activities. India is too big a country herself to be bound down to any country, however big it may be. India is going to be and is bound to be a country that counts in world affairs, not I hope in the military sense, but in many other senses which are more important and effective in the end. Any attempt on our part, that is, the Government of the day here, to go too far in one direction would create difficulties in our own country. It would be resented and we would produce conflicts in our own country which would not be helpful to us or to any other country. While remaining quite apart from power blocs, we are in a far better position to cast our weight at the right moment in favour of peace, and meanwhile our relations can become as close as possible in the economic or other domain with such countries with whom we can easily develop them. So it is not a question of our remaining isolated or cut off from the rest of the world. We do not wish to be isolated. We wish to have the closest contacts, because we do from the beginning firmly believe in the world coming closer together and ultimately realizing the ideal of what is now being called One World. India, we are convinced, can help in that process far more by taking an individual stand and acting according to her own wishes whenever any crisis arises than by merging herself with others and getting tied up with hard and fast rules.

That is our general outlook in regard to our policy, and looking at the world today we find that there is a great deal of talk of war. Unless some very unfortunate thing happens, say a grave accident or something like that takes place, I do not

think there is going to be any war, at least in the next few years. Nobody can guarantee for any great length of time. If there is not going to be any war in the next few years—and if I may say so, there is not going to be any war—primarily it is because the countries are not prepared for war, while politically speaking, in the course of the last year we might have been said to be near the war, because passions were aroused and many things happened that have usually led the nations to war, but even then war did not take place. That is because in a military sense or otherwise, the countries were not prepared for war. War takes place when two factors are present at the same time, firstly, the political urge for war and secondly, the preparation for war. Now, if one of them is absent then war is not likely to take place. Well, one was actually absent and that is the preparation for war. The result was that the great crisis through which Europe struggled during the last summer and autumn passed.⁸ Now you cannot live for ever at a high pitch of crisis. It either bursts up into war or gradually tones down. If, therefore, a political crisis takes place and if for certain reasons it cannot burst itself into war, then it is bound to tone down and this has happened in practice. But in any case that does not mean that the danger is not there. But all you can say is that you get a few years of peace and you know in this mad world of ours a few years of peace is worthwhile. This short period of peace gives you definitely a chance to work for making that peace more enduring. I feel strongly that there is certainly a good possibility of that chance being utilized by the countries of the world and peace being very firmly established.

But what has happened today? We find that there has developed a fatalistic tendency to think in terms of war. It is rather difficult to say anything with certainty, yet the prospect of war is so bad and the consequences of war are going to be so bad, that regardless of the result of war, I wish every human being should try his utmost to avoid war as far as possible. We do not want war anywhere. We want at least 10 or 15 years of peace in order to be able to develop our resources. If there is war anywhere in the world, then what happens to the rest of the world? You can imagine starvation for millions following the war.

So if we strive earnestly for peace and try to take advantage of the fact that the very grave crisis of the past autumn has toned down and might tone down still further, I think we can well increase the chances of peace. So far as we are concerned, we ought to try to do that. Apart from the conflicts in Berlin or in other places in Europe, there are two other issues in the world which, unless satisfactorily solved, may well lead to conflict and a conflict on a big scale. One is the issue

8. In June 1948 a new currency was introduced in the western zone of Germany and was banned by Soviet Union in the eastern zone and east Berlin. Searching and stopping of French, British and American traffic from January onwards developed into a total blockade of Berlin by cutting off all access by canal, road and rail. The Western Powers maintained communication by air till May 1949 when the blockade was finally lifted.

typified by Indonesia, that is the issue of domination of one country over another. Where there is continued domination, whether it is in Asia or Africa, there will be no peace either there or in the people's minds elsewhere. There will be a continuous conflict going on, continuous suspicion of each other and continuous suspicion of Europe in the minds of Asia and, therefore, the friendly relationship which should exist between Asia and Europe will not come about easily. It is, therefore, important that all these areas of colonial domination should be freed and they should be able to function as free countries.

The second important factor is that of racial equality. That too, in some parts of the world, has come very much to the forefront. For example, take the question of Indians in South Africa. It is a matter which concerns us all. It is not merely a question of Indians or South Africans, but it is a matter of vital significance to the world, because that too symbolizes something in the world. If that is to continue in the world, then there is bound to be conflict and conflict on a big scale, because it is a continuous challenge to the self-respect of a vast number of people in the world and they will not put up with it. The matter is thus before the United Nations and I hope the United Nations will help in its solution. But quite apart from the United Nations, there cannot be a shadow of doubt that if such a policy is continued, it will breed conflict. And that conflict will not be confined to particular areas in South Africa or elsewhere; it will affect peoples in vast continents.

I am not touching upon the third matter, the basic matter, that is, economic policies. It is too big a subject—except that I would like to say this in regard to it, that the only way to proceed in the world today as far as I can see is for each country to realize that it must not interfere with another country's economic policy. Ultimately the policies that deliver the goods will succeed, those that do not will not succeed. This policy of interfering aggressively with other countries' policies inevitably leads to trouble. We must realize that there are different types of economic policy in the world today, in different countries, and they are believed in by their people. Well, the only thing to do is to leave them to work out their destiny. It may be that one of them justifies this policy, may be, another justifies another. It may be that a third follows a middle course. Whatever it may be, the future will show. Whatever that may be, the point is that we must proceed on the basis of leaving every country to shift for itself in regard to its internal affairs. Any effort to change the economic policy, or any other internal policy, forcibly, or to bring pressure to bear upon it, leads to counter-pressure and to continuous conflict.

May I just say one word before I close? We are striving for One World, and with the development of communications and everything, we come closer to one another. We know a great deal more about one another than we used to do. Nevertheless, I have a feeling that our knowledge of one another is often extraordinarily superficial, and we, living in our grooves, big or small, seem to

imagine, each country seems to imagine, that we are more or less the centre of the world, and the rest is the fringe. that our way of living is the right way of living

wisdom, and we have seen much folly, and we bear the traces of both that wisdom and that folly around us. We have to learn much, and we shall learn much; and perhaps we have to unlearn a great deal too. But it is curious when people, not even trying to understand what we are, seek to improve us. We do not mind very much; but it does not help. Now, that applies to us too, because we go about thinking in terms of improving others. I wish all of us would give up the idea of improving others, and improve ourselves instead. Thank you.

8. To P.C. Bhandari¹

New Delhi

March 26, 1949

My dear Bhandari,

As you may have learnt, I am coming to London in connection with the Dominion Prime Ministers' Conference. I expect to reach London on the 20th night and to stay there about a week or so. I cannot remain away for long, as I have heavy work here. My time in London will thus be brief and very much occupied with the Conference and private talks with the Dominion Prime Ministers and others.

I am writing to you now because I have been greatly distressed for some time past. This distress has been caused by the persistent campaign carried on by some people against Krishna Menon.² I would have attached no importance whatever to such a campaign and it would not have affected me in the least. But my distress has been caused by the fact of your association with it.³ I am used enough here in India to attacks by individuals and in the press.

The campaign against Krishna Menon has seemed to me a peculiarly objectionable one. Sarat Bose, after his return from England, has carried on propaganda, in his own way, which has nothing of decency about it. Quite apart

1. J.N. Collection.

2. It was reported, for example, in the *Nation* of 4 March, that none of the activities of the Indian High Commissioner was above board. "Be it a business deal transacted on behalf of the Government of India or negotiations carried on by private individuals, Mr. Krishna Menon nearly always intervenes." It was also alleged that a share of the profit was passed on to the benefit of the India League with which Menon was closely connected. A number of shady business deals were reported to be transacted in India House in London only.

3. On 6 March 1949, Krishna Menon complained to Nehru about "scurrilous scandal-mongers" and the "disgraceful" utterances by Sarat Bose in India and abroad to discredit Nehru and him. He wrote, "Dr. Bhandari is the brain behind all the trouble and intrigue here and Bose and he were very much in league." See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 9, p.189.

from the merits of any question raised, the manner of carrying on this campaign both by Sarat Bose in India and some people in London has amazed me. Whatever we may do with it in our own country and however we may criticize our own shortcomings in India, every Indian has to remember that the dignity and good name of India have to be maintained abroad. It is a sign of extreme little-mindedness and lack of vision for Indians abroad to exhibit their differences and to fall out with each other. Further, a diplomatic representative of India represents the dignity of the Indian State abroad and is a symbol, apart from being a personality. That symbol must be respected by every Indian and nothing must be done to lower his prestige or the respect in which a representative of India must always be held.

Perhaps these elementary facts are not fully realized by some of our people, trained as we have been in the past tradition and unaccustomed to the duties and obligations of free citizenship of a free country. Nevertheless, we shall have to learn this lesson, if we are to prove worthy citizens of India.

Sarat Bose has gone off the deep end completely and few people in India attach any importance to what he says. In fact he gets more publicity in Pakistan than in India, because the Pakistan press realizes the value of his speeches and statements as anti-Indian propaganda. This applies to the activities of other Indians abroad also who indulge in this kind of thing.

I have written above on a question of principle, although personalities are inevitably involved. Sarat Bose, for reasons I need not go into, has developed a violent animus against me. I do not mind in the least his criticizing or condemning me.⁴ But not finding sufficient scope for that, he tries to attack other people, thus indirectly trying to hit me. I would undoubtedly prefer that he was more direct about this matter. His newspaper, the *Nation* of Calcutta, is functioning as if his chief business in life was to run down India. It is most distressing that any Indian should associate himself with such activities.

Apart from the question of principle, to which I have referred above, I think that the personal attacks made on Krishna Menon have been in the worst of taste and with no justification at all. I happen to know something of his work in London, perhaps even more than people who live in London. I can tell you that in my opinion he has done a fine job of work and he has handled the most difficult problems in a manner which has elicited my admiration. That may be my personal opinion, but for the moment, I happen to be the Foreign Minister and the Prime Minister of India and naturally I have to be guided by my own opinion and judgement. I wish to make it perfectly clear to you that there is no intention whatever of removing or transferring Krishna Menon from his present office.

4. In an interview, for example, to the United Press on 2 January, Bose criticized Nehru for supporting the formation of a united Western front. He said, in the event of a 3rd World War, India would be dragged into the war.

I am doing a somewhat unusual thing in writing to you on this subject, but I have done so, because I felt that I owed it to you to express to you what my opinion was. In the past you have been very good to me and offered your cooperation and services. Because of this, I was all the more surprised that you should indulge in activities which, you knew, were entirely opposed to the policy I was pursuing and the work I was doing and which could only result in distressing me. I cannot make out why you should have acted in this manner. That is for you to judge, but at any rate we should understand one another, or you should understand how I feel about all this. Hence this letter, which is entirely personal for you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. To P.C. Bhandari¹

New Delhi
4 April 1949

My dear Bhandari,

I have your long telegram in answer to my letter of the 26th March. I thank you for it.

I must confess that I do not quite understand all that you have said, except that you did not have many dealings with Sarat Chandra Bose. You refer to a mass of documentary evidence of a most damaging character. I do not know what this evidence is. Perhaps this refers to a number of documents that have been published in the Calcutta's *Nation*², presumably at Sarat Babu's instance. I have seen this so-called evidence and I have failed to find anything in it that I consider relevant or important.

It is a little difficult to discuss a person's activities when there is a strong prejudice against him, as your telegram indicates. I presume that I am in a position, as Foreign Minister, to judge the value of the activities of our representatives abroad. This judgement is not based on his own reports but on a large number of reports from other persons as well as my own personal experience. That experience and those reports lead me to a completely opposite conclusion to yours. I know that Krishna Menon has performed most valuable services to India in his

1. J.N. Collection.

2. In February and March 1949, the *Nation* listed various cases where it was alleged that commissions had been granted by India House in London.

present position. I know that he is one of the ablest Indians I have come across. I know also that he has some failings, but that the good work that he has done and is doing completely outbalances those failings.

As I wrote to you in my last letter, I must, out of necessity, proceed on the basis of my own experience and knowledge. I am entirely clear in my own mind that it is for the good of India and our cause that Krishna Menon should continue in his present office as High Commissioner. He is therefore going to continue. I cannot be led away from my decision, arrived at after full thought, because some people seem to disagree with it. I have some knowledge of men and women and human affairs, more especially in the political domain. I am in a much better position to judge than any other person could be. I propose therefore to act according to my own judgement. That judgement indeed has been confirmed by the unseemly attacks that have been made on Krishna Menon.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

10. To Pattabhi Sitaramayya¹

New Delhi
11 April 1949

My dear Pattabhi,

I have enquired into the matter of the two South African Indians, who are here at present,² desiring to go to Lake Success for the United Nations General Assembly. We have not got much in the way of facts about them and we have in fact sent a telegram to our office in Cape Town to enquire further into the matter. But there is not much time left before they go and hence a speedy decision is necessary.

I think it is true that both of them have come on behalf of the South African Indian Congress. When they left South Africa there was no question of their going to America for the United Nations. It was then proposed that other people from South Africa should go to Lake Success for this purpose. There were, however, difficulties about passports and visas. Ultimately, a South African Indian in London

1. J.N. Collection.

2. M.D. Naidu and Moulvi I.A. Cachalia visited India and Pakistan in March and April 1949, as representatives of the South African Indian Congress to acquaint the Governments of India and Pakistan about the facts regarding the Indian community living in South Africa.

now was selected to go. Even he could not get the American visa and he has therefore been held up in London. This happened only a few days ago. It was because no one else could go to Lake Success that the question of one of these two gentlemen here now going to Lake Success arose.

These two gentlemen, Shri Naidu and his companion, have been to Karachi and came here from there some time ago. Shri Naidu has been able to get a passport from us as an Indian national, and a visa for America has also been obtained for him. So he can presumably go without any difficulty. The other person has not got a visa and the question about him does not arise.

Therefore, the simple question is now whether Naidu should be helped financially to go to Lake Success. We are told that any money given to him will be in the nature of a loan which in all probability the South African Indian Congress will pay back. The actual fare from Delhi to New York is Rs. 2,865/-.

I have just heard that an Iraqi visa is also necessary. We are telephoning to Karachi for it. Meanwhile, in order to save time we have booked his passage by tonight's Pan American and he will be leaving this evening.

I suggest that you should advance to him the money for his fare plus Rs. 500/-. The money for his fare need not be paid to him as we are making arrangements for that. It can be paid us in the course of the next few days, not exceeding a week. Rs. 500/- might be given to Naidu directly by you for his miscellaneous expenses.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

11. To Rajan Nehru¹

New Delhi
April 17, 1949

My dear Rajan,

I am sorry I could not see you when you came and you could not wait. I was busy with an interview which I could not easily break.

I have read many accounts of your activities and lecturing in the United States and they are uniformly complimentary. I knew that you would be able to do good work there. But some time back we discussed in External Affairs the general principle of the wives of our diplomats or even our other officials undertaking lecture tours. This had nothing to do with any particular person, but the question had come

1. J.N. Collection.

before us on several occasions. It was decided that it was not desirable for any such lecture tours to be undertaken by them. There might be some exceptions for occasional lectures on purely cultural topics, but politics or anything verging on politics was to be avoided.

It seems to me difficult for any lectures to be given in America without covering a political subject. Indeed the subject you suggest—"India as a democracy" is essentially a political subject. It is a very difficult subject and I would hesitate to speak on it, though of course a great deal can be said.

As a matter of fact, the political climate of the world is so extraordinarily unsteady and delicate that one has to weigh one's words very carefully anywhere. This is much more so in the United States where, generally speaking, people are very forthright and often are rather immature. The question they have on their lips all the time relates to communism. I know very few persons who can answer this question properly. Indeed I doubt if anyone can do so, keeping in conformity with India's policy and at the same time satisfying American opinion. I am afraid Americans as a whole do not easily see shades of meaning and understand any activity which has nuances in it. I would personally, therefore, discourage any speaker from India, man or woman, from undertaking lecture tours in America at this stage. Of course I cannot stop private persons from going there and they do go there. But it does make a difference if some one connected with our Foreign Service speaks on such subjects. I think therefore that for the present at least it would not be desirable for you to undertake a lecture tour in America.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

12. Role of Indians in England¹

The Indians employed in England should work faithfully, sincerely and resourcefully, as representatives of an independent country are expected to do in foreign countries. You must treat the High Commissioner as a symbol of India

1. Address to the Indian residents at India House, London, 29 April 1949. From the *Hindustan Standard*, 1 May, and *Tribune*, 2 May 1949.

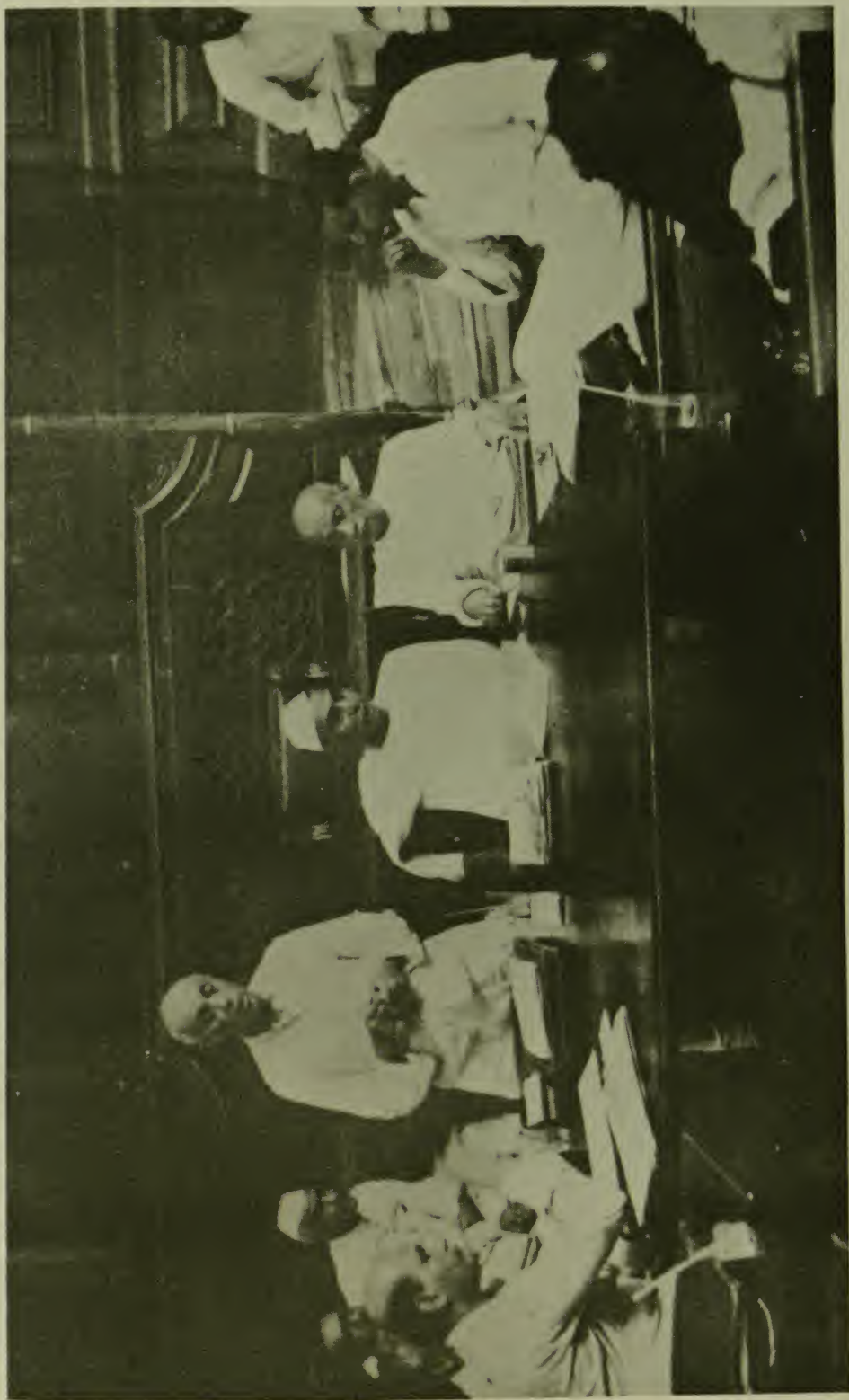
and respect him. It is in bad taste to carry on a malicious campaign against the High Commissioner.²

There is nothing camouflaged behind the Commonwealth meeting. We have entered into no commitments of any kind. We are no stooges of Britain and if people think so, they are grievously wrong. I am proud of my deliberate decision to come here and participate in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meeting. What we have done, is good for India. I and my Government are in no way committed either economically, militarily, externally or financially. The only thing in which we have, if at all, committed is to consult each other over the Commonwealth. I discard passive neutrality for India or to join any entangling military and political bloc; but we are determined to follow a positive peace policy. The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' declaration, in fact, embodied various changes of historic significance not only for India and Britain, but also for the world.

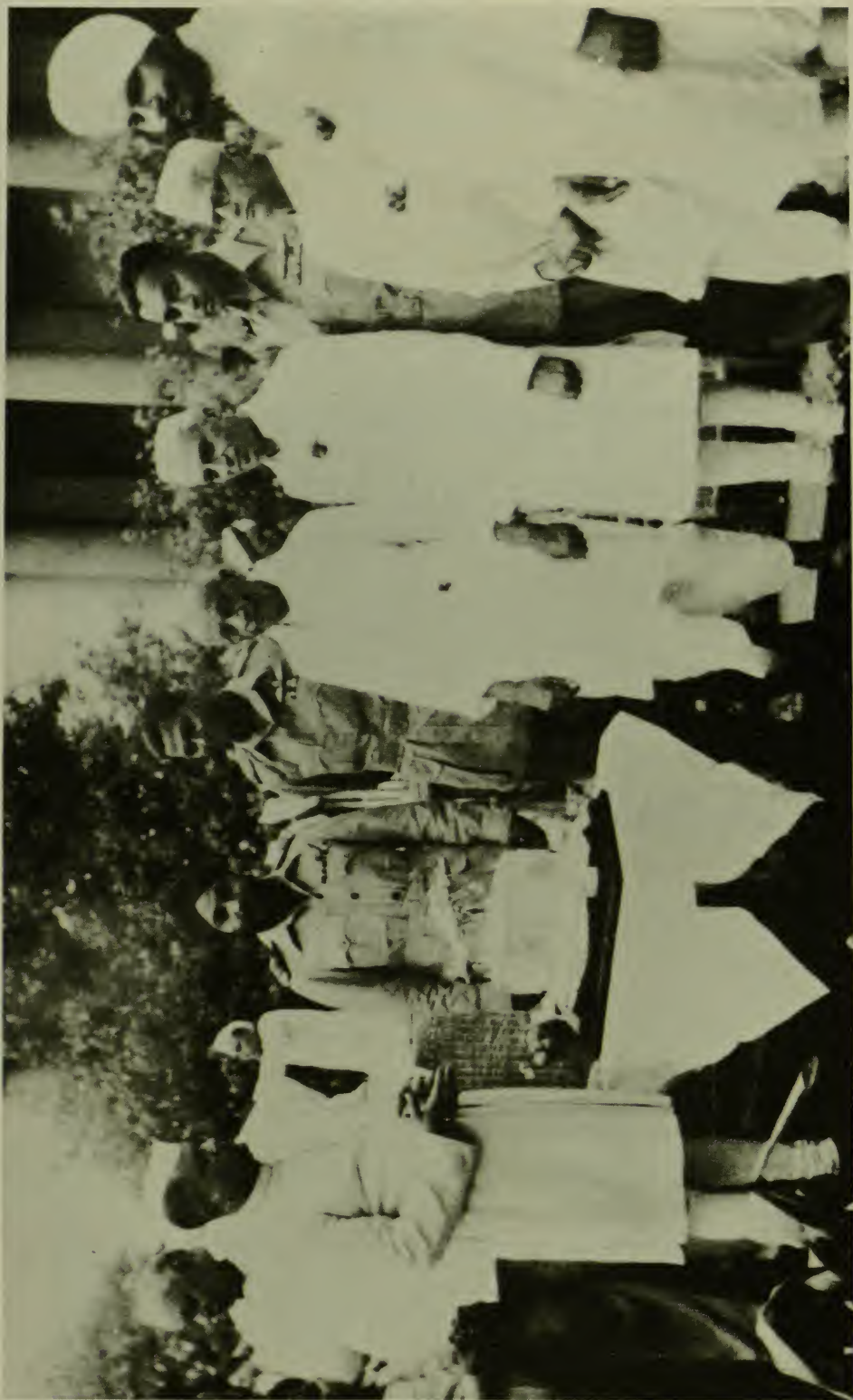
The Indian Republic may come into being either on August 15, 1949, or on January 26, 1950. With the advent of the sovereign independent Republic of India, the independence pledge we took year after year during our national struggle would be redeemed.

The measures adopted by the Government of India in arresting the Indian Communists and R.S.S. workers were 'distasteful' but not unjustifiable. I myself had fought against those measures, but to prevent the newly achieved independence to slip away or be divided, we had to take them. To maintain India's independence is the overall and the foremost consideration of my Government.

2. According to a report in the *Nation* on 1 May 1949, many Indians at the function laughed and shouted "shame". They were heard muttering that the High Commissioner should respect Indians and behave properly.



ADDRESSING A MEETING OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, 1949



WITH VALLABHBHAI PATEL AND OTHERS AFTER HIS ESCAPE FROM AN AIR DISASTER, 7 APRIL 1949



WITH VALLABHBHAI PATEL AFTER HIS ESCAPE FROM AN AIR DISASTER, 7 APRIL 1949



INAUGURATING THE 'MERA BACHPAN' PROGRAMME ON THE A.I.R., 9 APRIL 1949

11

MISCELLANEOUS

I. Personal

1. To Lord Mountbatten¹

New Delhi
February 20, 1949

My dear Dickie,

Thank you for your letter of the 12th February² which Edwina brought. It is lovely having Edwina and Pamela here, and not only we but large number of people in Delhi are delighted to meet them again.

Here in India we have one problem after another, or rather a multitude of them all together plus new ones. Yesterday we arrested your old friend, Tara Singh. This action was long overdue, as he has been misbehaving terribly. There are bound to be reactions to this. I am rather glad that matters came to a crisis at last.

Then we have threats of general strike on the Railways, Posts and Telegraphs Services, etc. Although the Railway Federation etc., have decided against a strike, certain communist unions are bent on it and have openly threatened sabotage.

About India remaining in the Commonwealth, you know my own opinion. I have done my best in the matter. Somehow matters have come to a standstill. I do not quite know where we are. We have had no reply to our last message to Attlee. I must say that the general U.K. attitude towards Indonesia has not helped us much, either in regard to Indonesia or in the matter of India continuing in the Commonwealth. Still I hope that a way out will be found....

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.
2. He wrote congratulating Nehru for his handling of the Kashmir and Hyderabad problems and said that India should remain in the Commonwealth for mutual benefit.

2. To Nilima Devi¹

New Delhi
February 20, 1949

My dear Nilima,

Your letter of the 18th February to Mathai. I have received copies of *Mahatma Gandhi* by Jawaharlal Nehru. I congratulate you on the production.

Could you send me some more copies, say 20, of *Discovery of India*.

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

I do not agree to the suggestion you have made of a photograph being taken of various people with this book. We cannot have a party for the purpose. The book is a good one. It does not require such methods of advertisement.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

3. To Eva Holley¹

New Delhi
February 26, 1949

Dear Eva Holley,²

Thank you for your letter of January 31.

If you wish to know anything about me, I suggest that you read my books. Books often tell more about a person than even a personal meeting.

I am afraid it is difficult for me to carry on correspondence, as I have far too much work to do. I cannot write even to my most intimate friends, much as I would like to do so.

The reference in the magazine's article to my liking for gadgets is not quite correct. I like something of use which helps me in my work, otherwise I am not anxious merely to collect odd things.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. An American journalist.

4. Sarojini Naidu¹

The captains and kings of my generation depart, old friends and dear comrades pass away, and now the dearest and brightest of them is gone. I feel desolate of heart and willowed in spirit.

1. Broadcast from Lucknow station of All India Radio on the death of Sarojini Naidu, 2 March 1949. From *The Hindustan Times*, 3 March 1949.

Though Sarojini Devi's strength ebbed out, her indomitable spirit held aloft. Men and women of this country, have you the spirit to carry the torch and hold it aloft? May it be given to us to give India what she gave.

What was she whom we mourn today? She was a nationalist and a great international figure. Our history and the history of the world will speak of her. She was a dreamer of dreams, singer of songs, a crusader of a great cause. She was for ever full of life. For 50 years she led a full and dynamic life and what she touched, she dignified.

She was *sarva priya*. Not all the passions and prejudices of the moment moved her from tolerance. She was symbolic of a manifold culture. We remember her as a comrade, a spirit full of joy and laughter, and because of that she will never die.

I pay homage to the great daughter of India and through her to the womanhood of India; whatever we have achieved I think we owe it to Sarojini Naidu. What I am today is partly due to the inspiration from Sarojini Devi. When I heard her 33 years ago from the platform of the National Congress, I was greatly thrilled as I was thrilled later whenever I heard her.

5. An Illustrious Daughter of India¹

It has become my painful duty, Sir, as Leader of this House, to refer from time to time to the passing away of the illustrious sons and daughters of India. Recently I referred to the passing away of a very eminent son of India, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. Then, the Governor of a Province,² suddenly died. He was a very distinguished servant of the State. When we refer to these distinguished sons or daughters of the country, we say often enough that it will be difficult to replace them, that they are irreplaceable, which may be true enough in a partial manner. But, today, I with your leave, would like to refer to the passing away early yesterday morning one, of about whom it can be said with absolute truth that it is impossible to replace her or to find her like. She was acting for the last year and a half or a little more as the Governor of a great Province with many problems and she functioned as Governor with exceeding ability and exceeding success as can be judged from the fact that every one in that Province, from the Premier and his

1. Speech on the death of Sarojini Naidu, 3 March 1949, *Constituent Assembly of India (Legislative) Debates, Official Report*, Vol. II, Part II, 1949, pp. 1031-1034.
2. Akbar Hydari, Governor of Assam.

Ministers and Government to the various groups and classes and religious communities down to the workers and the peasants in the field, had been drawn to her and had found a welcome in her heart. She had succeeded very greatly as a Governor and as a great servant of the State in an exalted position. But it is not as a Governor that I should speak much of her; for she was a much greater person than Governors are normally supposed to be. What exactly she was, it is a little difficult for me to say, because she had become almost a part of us, a part of our national heritage of today and a part of us individuals who had the great privilege to be associated with her for a multitude of years in our struggle for freedom and in our work.

Sir, it is a little difficult to see persons with whom you have been so closely associated in proper perspective, and yet one can feel that to some extent. And thinking of her one sees a person to whom any number of epithets and adjectives might be applied. Here was a person of great brilliance. Here was a person vital and vivid. Here was a person with so many gifts, but above all with some gifts which made her perfectly unique. She began life as a poetess. In later years, when the compulsion of events drew her into the national struggle and she threw herself into it with all the zest and fire that she possessed, she did not write much poetry with pen and paper, but her whole life became a poem and a song. And she did that amazing thing; she infused artistry and poetry to our national struggle. Just as the Father of the Nation had infused moral grandeur and greatness to the struggle, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu gave it artistry and poetry and that zest for life and indomitable spirit which not only faced disaster and catastrophe, but faced them with a light heart and with a song on her lips and a smile on her face. Now I do not think, being myself a politician which most of us are, that hardly any other gift was more valuable to our national life than this lifting it out of the plane of pure politics to a higher artistic sphere which she succeeded in doing in some measure.

Looking back upon her life, one sees an astonishing combination of gifts. One, here is a life full of vitality; then, here is 50 years of existence—not merely existence but a vital, dynamic existence—touching many aspects of our life, cultural and political. And whatever she touched, she infused with something of her fire. She was indeed a pillar of fire. And then again, she was like cooling running water, soothing and uplifting and bringing down the passion of our politics to the cooler levels of human beings. So it is difficult for one to speak about her except that one realizes that here was a magnificence of spirit and it is gone.

We shall, no doubt, for generations to come, remember her, but perhaps those who come after us and those who have not been associated with her so closely will not realize fully the richness of that personality which could not easily be translated or transmuted into spoken words or records. So she worked for India. She knew how to work and she knew how to play. And that was a wonderful combination. She knew how to sacrifice herself for great causes. She knew also to do that so gracefully and so graciously that it appeared an easy thing to do and

not anything entailing travail of spirit. If a sensitive person like her must suffer from tremendous travail of spirit, no doubt she did, but she did it so graciously that it appeared that that too was easy for her. So she lifted our struggle into a higher plane and gave it a certain touch which I cannot think anybody else can give or is likely to give in future.

Sir, I said she was a curious combination of so many things; she represented in herself a rich culture into which flowed various currents which have made Indian culture so great as it is. She herself was a composite both of various currents of culture in India as well as various currents of culture both in the East and the West. And so she was, while being a very great national figure, also truly an internationalist, and wherever she might go in the wide world, she was recognized as such and as one of the great ones of the earth. It is well to remember that specially today, when through stress of circumstances we may occasionally drift into a narrow nationalism and forget the larger objectives that inspired the great ones who laid down the foundations of our national movement. The great Father of the Nation and this great woman who has also shaped our national movement so powerfully, not so much on the direct political plane, although she functioned there and adequately functioned, but in those invisible planes, which are so very important, because they shape the nation's character, because they mould ultimately its mental and aesthetic and artistic outlook and without that mental, moral, aesthetic and artistic outlook, any success that we may gain may well be an empty success because, after all, we seek freedom to gain which is good in itself, but we seek freedom to achieve something else. We seek freedom to achieve a good life for our people. What is the good life? Can you imagine any good life which does not have an artistic and an aesthetic element in it and a moral element in it? That will not be a good life; it will be some temporary phase of existence which is rather dry and harsh, and unfortunately, the world grows drier and harsher and more cruel. In our own experience of the last two years political life has become a little harsh, cruel, intolerant and suspicious and in the world today, we see suspicion and fear all round, fear of each other. How are we to get over this? It is only through some experience of moral heights that we might overcome it, and that was the way shown to us by the Father of the Nation, or else the other way is to approach it from the human point of view, from the artistic and aesthetic points of view, and the human point of view is the forgiving point of view, is the point of view full of compassion and understanding of humanity and its failings as well as its virtues. And so Sarojini brought that human point of view, full of understanding, full of compassion for all who are in India or outside.

The House knows that she stood more than any single human being in India for the unity of India in all phases, for the unity of its cultural content, the unity of its geographical areas. It was a passion for her. It was the very texture, the warp and woof of her life. It is well to remember that when we sometimes fall into narrower grooves, because greatness has never come from narrowness of mind or

again greatness for a nation as for individual comes from a wide vision, a wide perspective, an inclusive outlook and a human approach to life. So, she became an interpreter in India of the various phases of our rich cultural inheritance. She became an interpreter in India of the many great things that the West has produced, and she became an interpreter in other parts of India of India's rich culture. She became the ideal ambassador and the ideal link between the East and the West, and between various parts and groups in India. I do not myself see how we are to find the like of her now or in the future. We shall have no doubt great men and women in the future, because India, even when she was low in the political scale, has never failed to produce greatness in her children. And, now that India is free, I have no doubt that India will produce great men and women in the future, as she has done in the past and in the present. Before our very eyes, we have seen these great figures, and yet, I wonder while India produces great men and women, whether she will or can produce just another like Sarojini. So we think of her as a brightness, as a certain vitality and vividness as poetry infused into life and activity, as something tremendously important and rich, and yet something which in terms of the material world is rather insubstantial, difficult to grip and difficult to describe, as something which you can only feel, as you can feel beauty, as you can feel the other higher things of life. May be some memory of this may go to other generations who have not seen her and inspire them. I think it will, but I do not think they can ever feel that as we poor mortals who had the privilege of being associated with her have felt.

So, in making this reference to this House, I can only recount various ideas that come into my mind, and perhaps I recount them in a somewhat confused way, because my mind feels afflicted and confused as if an intimate part of it was cut off from it and because it is difficult to speak or to judge of people for whom one has a great deal of affection. It was the affection of unity. It was the affection of one who even in his younger days was tremendously inspired by her speech and action and who during the succeeding decades grew more and more to love her and to admire her and to think of her as a rich and rare being. That rich and precious being is no more and that is sorrow for us, inevitably, and yet, it is something more than sorrow. It is, if we view it in another light, a joy and triumph for us, that India of our generation has produced such rare spirits which have inspired us and which will inspire us in the future.

Sir, it is customary when making such a reference to say that the sympathy and condolence of this House might be conveyed to the relatives of the person who has passed away. I say so and yet, really the bond that held Sarojini to all of us here and to thousands and tens of thousands in this country was as close and great as the bond that held her to her own children or to her other relatives and so though we send this message of condolence on behalf of this House all of us really require that message to soothe our hearts.

6. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
March 15, 1949

My darling,

I have received two or three letters from you and I wanted to answer them. But they require a rather personal answer at some leisure. Also even the personal answer was not a completely easy one. Sometimes it is a little difficult to write. I would have preferred to have a talk. Perhaps we may have some such opportunity fairly soon when you come here for Chand's wedding.²

Thank you for writing to me frankly. It is on that level that I should have liked to talk to you. I have been distressed at a certain tension that I sense somewhere. It is difficult to describe it, but easy enough to feel it, and even your letters have not entirely removed that impression. I feel that you are unhappy and rather upset about various things. I should very much like to remove that feeling from your mind.

In one of your letters you referred to Chand's marriage, date, place, etc. and suggested that it might take place in Delhi from Sharda's house. This suggestion seemed to me so extraordinary that it took my breath away for a while. I felt that there was something wrong somewhere, if you could give even a moment's thought to such a proposal and not realize how it would hurt me...

There is a possibility, indeed probability, that I might have to go to London soon after this marriage to attend a Dominion Prime Ministers' Conference which has been provisionally fixed for the 20th April. We have not finally decided yet and I shall of course let you know as soon as we decide. I should have liked to stay here for the full period of your stay in India. But perhaps this may not be possible if I have to go to London. Presumably you will go direct to America from here. That will mean passing through London. I may be there then and so we might meet again. I do not think I shall spend more than ten days at the most in London. On my way back I should like to spend a couple of days with Dhirubhai Desai in Berne, Switzerland.

We had your telegrams about the proposed ambassador for Moscow.³ That matter has fallen through now and we are completely at a loose end for the moment.

The ambassadorship at Washington is at the present moment a most important and delicate diplomatic post. I think it is more important than representation at Lake Success. It is a continuing appointment while the other has flashes of important work. I would have gladly agreed to your going to Lake Success, but after deep thought, the other appeared more important. We are turning a big corner in India and a great deal depends on the clarity of our relationship with the U.S.A. and

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

2. Chandraksha Pandit married Ashok Mehta on 14 April 1949.

3. Vijayalakshmi had not favoured the appointment of Devadas Gandhi.

U.S.S.R. You might have read my speech in the Assembly on foreign policy.³ It was rather superficial. Nevertheless it did give an indication of how we want to proceed. I am quite convinced that we have to take a positive policy which is neither neutral nor a vague middle of the way policy, certainly not sitting on the edge. The importance of the United Nations is considerable, and yet somehow it is not quite so important as we thought, and for the moment vital work lies elsewhere. Your presence in Washington, near Lake Success, will help us in many ways and we may even request you during an emergency to go to Lake Success. All our publicity in America, which we wish to build up, is under the Ambassador.

With love from,
Jawahar

3. See Section 10, sub-section IV, item 2.

7. To Lord Mountbatten¹

New Delhi
March 20, 1949

My dear Dickie,

Thank you for your letter. Edwina and Pamela are going away tomorrow to Bombay and day after tomorrow from there to London on their way to Nice. Within three days or so they will be with you and will give you all the news of this country, that is so rapidly changing.

Edwina's sudden rise in temperature at Puri caused us some anxiety. There was nothing much in it, but because she had to go away soon and had a heavy programme here, I was much concerned about it. At last she agreed to stay on for another four days. This allowed her time to recover somewhat, though she has had little rest even during these four days. She has a heavy day and a half in Bombay and I am afraid she is going to tire herself greatly. But there is no help for it, as she insists on rushing about all over the city of Bombay and trying to put in about a week's work in a day. I hope that the long journey from Bombay to London will at least give her physical rest and that she will not reach you in an exhausted condition.

I do not quite know why she had the rise in temperature. Probably it was a touch of malaria. If so, then she might have got it in Calcutta, where she was ten

1. J.N. Collection

or twelve days earlier. She got over it soon enough and demonstrated how good her general physical condition was. All that she requires is rest and not too much good works for some time.

It has been perfectly delightful to have Edwina and Pamela here during this past month, and not only Rajaji and I and our families but crowds of other folk in Delhi and elsewhere have rejoiced to meet them again. They have shaken us up a little and brought some colour in our otherwise rather drab lives, and that is something for which one must be very grateful. The only drawback to this kind of thing is that when the time comes for another parting, there is a gap and a certain emptiness. That happened when you went away in June last year and now again that will take place tomorrow. It is rather odd, as Edwina has pointed out, that she is leaving tomorrow almost exactly to a day two years after the date of your arrival here as Viceroy.

Some days ago Attlee sent a message to me suggesting that a Dominion Prime Ministers' Conference might be held in London on the 20th April, to last about a week or so. As this Conference was supposed to discuss Commonwealth questions and more especially the place of India in the Commonwealth, I felt that informal discussions would have been perhaps better than a formal Conference. Formal conferences are apt to be rather wooden, unless decisions have been arrived at informally previously. I pointed this out to Attlee but said that I would gladly come if the conference was fixed up. I have not heard from him again. In the event of this conference taking place, I shall reach London on the 20th night. This will be a day later than I ought to get there. But I cannot manage to start earlier, as my niece, Chandralekha, is getting married just about that time. If I reach on the 20th, I shall probably stay in London till the end of the month. Edwina tells me that you have got some engagements in London during the last week of April and are likely to reach there about the 22nd or 23rd. That is good news and this will enable me to meet you in London.

Gordon Walker is expected here sometime next week. I am thinking of asking Krishna to come here from London to be present during our talks with Gordon Walker and for other reasons also.

We continue to struggle with a multitude of problems and sometimes they are troublesome enough. But, taking an overall view, I have a sensation that India is making good fairly rapidly. The kind of problems we have to face are difficult enough, but these difficulties are of a kind that follow a crisis. It may be said that the crisis is over and the aftermath of it now confronts us. We have in a sense dealt with the communal Hindu and Sikh elements, the R.S.S. and the Akalis, including Master Tara Singh, and also, to some extent, with the Communists. The States are settling down, but their internal conditions are not satisfactory. The level of their administrations is low and it is not easy to find enough competent men to take charge. The new Ministries in the States consist of inexperienced men. However, we go ahead there also.

The basic problem is the economic one in its various aspects. The past year has been one of stagnation in industry and I am afraid that our industrialists have not behaved as they should. Communist elements in Labour have given a lot of trouble. I think that this stagnation is going now and things are looking up. By the end of this year I hope we shall have definitely turned the corner.

So, in spite of our troubles and difficulties, on the whole we march ahead. But hard work and constant vigilance are necessary. India is the only fairly solid, secure and more or less democratic country left in Asia. China, Burma, Indo-China, Siam, Indonesia and Malaya on the one hand and the Middle Eastern countries on the other, are none of them in a happy state. Pakistan is having plenty of internal troubles. As you must know, Mudie is now the complete boss of the West Punjab, where the Ministry has been suspended.² In the Frontier Province there is continuing trouble and the relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan are very strained. In Sind also conditions are not good.³ On the whole Indo-Pakistan relations have improved.

The U.N. Kashmir Commission is carrying on its work in a rather leisurely manner. I do not myself see any end to its labours for a considerable time to come.

I shall look forward to meeting you next month. I hope you are keeping well and fit.

Yours ever,
Jawaharlal

2. The Governor of West Punjab, Sir Francis Mudie, issued a proclamation from Lahore on January 24 dissolving the Provincial Legislature and assuming charge of the Provincial administration, pending the holding of fresh elections.
3. On 4 February 1949, Sind Premier Pir Allahi Baksh and two members were disqualified from the membership of the Sind Legislative Assembly for six years, as they were found guilty by an electoral tribunal of adopting corrupt practices in the Sind Provincial election in 1946.

8. To Krishna Hutheesing¹

New Delhi
March 26, 1949

Betty dear,

I have your two letters. I am so glad you liked your visit to Delhi and Orissa.

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

Evidently you made up for it on your journey back to Bombay. I hope you have got over your headache.

You are a very sensible person, but you do write amazing nonsense at times, which causes you and others endless worry. Pull yourself up and face the world without worrying about its madness and badness...

You and Raja, and I hope the children, must certainly come here for Lekha's wedding. As you know, I do not attach too much importance to weddings. But nevertheless your presence and Raja's is essential. Apart from this, I have not seen Raja for some time and I should like to meet him again and have a talk with him. So make up your minds to come here.

About Wadia² and the race horses, I am prepared to see him. But I just am so full of other things that it is not easy for me to apply my mind to anything else. I shall try to see him when I am passing through Bombay. If this is not possible, then let Wadia come here on my return and I shall have a talk with him. It really is not necessary for him to convince me about the need for keeping up horse breeding. I want to know exactly what he wants done and how. All I can promise is to put in a good word for it. How far that goes in such a matter, I do not know. So ask him to send me a note, a brief and concise one. Is this a matter concerning the Government of India or the Government of Bombay?

Edwina wrote to me a glowing account of Harsh and Ajit.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

2. F.D. Wadia founded the Yeravda Stud Farm in Pune for breeding race horses.

9. To Jayaprakash Narayan¹

New Delhi
April 6, 1949

My dear Jayaprakash,

The news of your accident in which both you and Prabha received injuries made us anxious.² Fortunately soon after I learnt that the injuries were not serious. I hope both of you are getting well.

1. J.N. Collection.
2. In an accident on 1 April 1949 near Daltonganj when he was returning from Palamu district, Jayaprakash suffered a compound fracture of the right arm. His wife, Prabhavati Devi, was also injured.

I have received your letter of March 30th about Pandit Baleshwar Dayal.³ I do not know him myself. I am immediately referring the matter to Hiralal Shastri, the newly elected Prime Minister of Rajasthan. There have been changes⁴ in Rajasthan during the last week or two and it is not quite clear who will be responsible for this. But I hope Hiralal will look into it immediately and take necessary steps.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Jayaprakash was concerned about Baleshwar Dayal who had been working among the Bhils of Central India and Rajputana for twelve years and had criticized the zamindari system. When he joined the campaign for prohibition and against the newly imposed taxes on grass, firewood and timber, he was arrested by the Rajasthan Government.
4. On 30 March 1949, the Greater Rajasthan Union was formed by merging Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner and Jaisalmer with the United State of Rajasthan.

10. Childhood¹

Children: We want to hear about Panditji's childhood. That would be nice.
Jawaharlal Nehru: It is such a long time since my childhood that it is a little difficult to remember it and then, in a sense, the question arises as to when childhood begins and ends. Sometimes I feel that my childhood is not yet over, especially when I am with children and I am reminded of my own childhood. So what should I tell you?

Children: Panditji, please tell us everything when you were at school.
JN: I did not go to school in India at all.

Children: Panditji, then tell us about where you studied.
JN: I went to school in England. You must remember that the world in which I was born has ended. I was born in India when it was a slave country. You are the children of independent India. So that makes a big difference, doesn't it? In those days our attention was always focussed on the Western world for studies and other things. So I was also sent as a child to England. I went to a very famous

1. Conversation with children at the inauguration of the *Mera Bachpan* (My childhood) programme of All India Radio, 9 April 1949. A.I.R. Tapes, N.M.M.L. (Original in Hindi).

school—Harrow—for some time and liked it there.² I learnt many new things. It is a good thing to know one's own country, of course, but it is also good to know about other countries and their people, especially about the children because they are the same all over the world. They start fighting with one another only when they grow up. There is no hatred in children when they play and jump about together. Therefore, it is a good thing to meet the children of different countries so that we know our world well. We learn that though the world is very large, people are the same everywhere, their thoughts and games and even their small squabbles are similar. That helps us to understand others. Therefore it was a good thing that I went to school and college abroad. I went to Cambridge, travelled in many foreign countries, met children and grown-ups in those countries and joined them in their games. I mentioned games, because I was very fond of sports especially things like swimming. I do not know how many of you know how to swim?

Children: Yes, Panditji, I know little bit; my sister knows very well.

JN: Because you must understand that those of you who do not know swimming must learn very fast because your education will not be complete without it. The other thing that I liked very much was horse-riding. Now, how many of you know horse-riding?

Children: I know, I know.

JN: Very good. Well, there are many forms of sports but perhaps you would not know one thing.

Children: What is that?

JN: Skating on ice.

Children: On ice? Skating? But we do not have snow here.

JN: Not only skating. You can do many things on ice—tobogganing, skating, skiing, etc. There is no sport in the world which is more fun than those and please do not think that you have to go to Switzerland to do those things.

Children: No, Sir, Simla also gets snowfall.

JN: Yes, in Simla, Mussoorie, Kashmir, we have snow. But our people do not know of any sports on ice, nor do they make any effort to learn. I have heard that now our armed forces are inventing new forms of sport on ice. It is great fun for children to play with snow. You can do anything you like with it, make a snowman or other models, throw it on one another, slide on it, etc. You can slide very fast on snow.

Children: Panditji, isn't it cold on ice?

JN: No, you have to wear warm clothes.

Children: Panditji, don't you feel cold? I am sure people must be falling ill.

JN: That cold is very bracing and good for our health. People become healthy. You see, the people living in the mountains, in cold climates, are more healthy than those living in the plains.

Children: So you mean we must not wear clothes?

2. Nehru was admitted to Harrow in 1905 at the age of 15.

JN: I did not say that. But it is true that wearing too many clothes is not a good thing. Those who go about clad in suits and ties etc. become useless. So I went to school and returned to India. But my education did not stop with school or college, just as childhood also does not end. I found another teacher, a totally different kind, a great teacher and that was Mahatmaji. You are now citizens of an independent India and you will have many advantages. But one advantage you will not have and which many of us had—that was to have Mahatmaji for our teacher, our guru, and to learn from him. That you will not get any more.

Children: But Sir, we will be all right if we follow his principles.

JN: What you have said is very true because really the important thing is principles, the things that he taught. If you follow them, he will always be with us and we can have the benefit of his advice. Remember that. I said that you are the children of independent India. In a few years, children grow up, however much of a child they may remain at heart. Then you will have to do big tasks. Tell me how you will do them.

Children: Panditji, the way you do them.

JN: That is not the correct reply. The reply should be, we will do them better than you.

Children: Yes, that is right.

JN: You must always try to do better. We want to make our country a grand one. Great. By great I do not mean the size on the map. Greatness comes when there are great people. The United States is a rich country because it has many great men living there. Yes, so isn't it true that greatness and smallness cannot be measured by richness and poverty? Who has been the greatest man in our country?

Children: Mahatma Gandhi.

JN: Was he rich or poor? He was not poor but nor was he rich. But he used to wear a loin-cloth. Well, that was not a sign of poverty. He used to deliberately avoid living like the rich because he considered the poorest of men as his brothers. Therefore he lived like that. So you cannot measure a man's greatness by his money. You can do it only by seeing how great he is at heart and in mind. Mahatma Gandhi was a very large-hearted man that is why he was the greatest man not only in our country, but in the whole world. We have to make our country great which means removing the poverty in the country, providing opportunities for education to all the children, providing houses and avoiding discrimination of any kind. All the children have to be given equal opportunities so that they can make good progress. And what should they learn? They ought to learn not to fight with one another and to work in mutual cooperation. This is Mahatma Gandhi's lesson which we must learn. Children can learn this lesson very easily. As I said, it is only when they grow older that people become quarrelsome. Therefore the longer we retain our childhood, the better it is for us. What is your opinion?

Children: Yes, Sir, what you say is absolutely correct.

JN: So you do not want to grow up?

Children: No, Sir, we will grow up. We want to do great things when we grow up. But you said the longer we retained our childhood the better it was. We will do big things in our childhood as well as when we grow up.

JN: Yes, that is right.

Children: Answer riddle: Thin, fat, full of knots, yet full of sweet juice. What is it Panditji? Tell us.

JN: Now, it is very difficult to solve riddles.

Children: Panditji, you must also sing.

JN: Now listen, I have done many things in my time (laughter), but I have not yet become a singer. Yes, I am prepared to do one thing.

Children: What is that, Panditji?

JN: I can stand on my head just now, if you are willing to do it too.

Children: Panditji, you are ...

JN: I think singing would be easier. All right sing.

Children: All right, Panditji, please recite a poem.

JN: I will recite a poem. But first tell me what your mother tongue is.

Children: Panditji, please recite a poem.

JN: No, I cannot immediately think of a poem. I cannot recite a poem in 15 seconds. It is beyond me.

Children: Panditji, please recite a small poem. Panditji, please give your autograph. Lots of us want it.

JN: Well, that would be very difficult. I can give to one or two, not more.

Children: Please give it to three or four.

JN: All right...

Children: All right, Panditji, *Jai Hind*.

JN: *Jai Hind, Jai Hind*.

11. To Achamma Matthai¹

New Delhi
April 10, 1949

My dear Mrs. Matthai,

I have just come back from your children's show.² I want to tell you how very much impressed I am with the work that you and your colleagues have put in to this business. I am quite clear in my mind that nothing should be allowed to come

1. File No. 29 (21)/47-PMS.

2. Nehru had presided over Women and Children's Day observed at the Lahore Shed Home, Delhi, for refugee women and children.

in the way of the proper training and rehabilitation of these children. If you have any difficulty, please let me know. If you require at any time urgently relatively small sums of money for the children or the women, I can give them to you from the Prime Minister's Relief Fund.

I suggested to you that the children should come sometimes to the garden of my house and play about here. I shall be very happy if they will do so. I suggest that they might come in small groups, preferably from one institution at a time. All that is necessary is that you might send intimation a day ahead or even a few hours ahead. During the next week we are rather busy here with my niece's marriage, but after that the children are welcome.

I suggest that each child should be given a toy. I am enclosing a cheque for Rs. 500/- for these toys. If this sum is not enough, I shall send you some more. The toys, I hope, would be made by the refugees themselves.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

12. To Asaf Ali¹

New Delhi
April 18, 1949

My dear Asaf,

I have just this minute received your note of the 16th.² Thank you. But I wish you would not talk of a backwood prison and of ebbing away. There is nothing I would like so much as being in a quiet place where nobody could find me. Be thankful that you can conserve your energy and can burst out in activity when the time comes.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Asaf Ali was not happy as Governor of Orissa.

11

MISCELLANEOUS

II. General

1. Memorial at Rajghat¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: May I say a word or two about this matter of the memorial at Rajghat? Some of us are of the opinion that it would be far more fitting that this memorial should be as little of a memorial as possible of the usual type of memorials. What I mean is that it should retain the simplicity and ruggedness that exists there today, and not be converted into a pleasure garden with marble and the rest of it. What exactly the final form should be is a matter for very careful consideration. But there is that to be considered; whether it should retain its present form subject to certain changes or whether we should put up something ornate. For my part I am entirely against ornateness.

Seth Govind Das enquired whether the Gandhi Mandap Exhibition was to be put up on a permanent basis.

JN: As regards a real exhibition of all things pertaining to Gandhiji, I suppose the Gandhi Memorial Fund will consider that matter. It may have to be a big exhibition but our little experience of the present small exhibition has led us to certain conclusions. First of all, that the way this exhibition has been organized—I mean to say the structure that has been built and the internal organization—has been so good and so much in keeping with, if I may say so, Gandhiji's own idea on the subject that we should like to give some permanent habitation to it. We cannot keep this present structure there, partly because it is on low-lying ground because it is not strong enough to resist rain and tempests, etc. It was built hurriedly. It is a very beautiful structure but it is very weak and cannot withstand any strong winds. So the idea is that that structure should be removed to a place just across the road not far from it on the higher ground, and erected in a more permanent way, but having the same external appearance as it has got now, but more permanent.

1. Speech in Constituent Assembly, 24 February 1949. *Constituent Assembly of India (Legislative) Debates, Official Report*, Vol. II, Part I, 18th February-17th March 1949, p. 1010.

2. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi
February 26, 1949

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I have your letter of February 25th.² I entirely agree with you that an authoritative and comprehensive history of the freedom movement in India should be compiled and written. The question is how to do it. Everything depends on the individual or individuals who will be put in charge of this work. I am afraid there are very very few competent men or women who might be able to do it. This requires two qualities at least. One is an intellectual and emotional appreciation of what has taken place, and the other is high literary ability. I can think of no one who might be considered to possess both these qualities.

As the scheme would depend entirely on suitable persons being found, it is little good going ahead with it till we spot those persons. Obviously a really comprehensive history would require great labour and would take a long time to compile.

It seems to me that the first step that we should take is to collect material. Even that collection can really be done satisfactorily by a person who has the vision to see the work as a whole in proper perspective. If you have any suggestions to make as to how we should proceed about this matter, I would welcome them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 40(60)/49-PMS.
2. Rajendra Prasad had wanted that a "comprehensive and authoritative" history of the freedom movement should be written.

3. A Comprehensive History of the Freedom Movement¹

Dr. Rajendra Prasad has written to me suggesting that we should take steps to have an authoritative and comprehensive history of the freedom movement in India

1. Note to Education Minister, 26 February 1949. File No. 40(60)/49-PMS.

compiled and written. This is important in itself and there is danger that some of the material for it may be lost if there is delay in collecting it. The purpose of having such a history prepared is not merely to have a correct record of a significant phase in our national history but also to place before the world the various phases and techniques of a struggle which was unique in its character and which will no doubt influence the world more and more as its technique is understood and appreciated.

I entirely agree with Dr. Rajendra Prasad that such an authoritative account is necessary. My difficulty is to find a proper person or persons who could be asked to undertake it. Such persons must have an intellectual and emotional understanding of India in its many political, economic, social and cultural aspects, of Gandhiji's technique and of the mass feelings roused by it, and an intimate acquaintance with the various phases of this great struggle. Further they must possess high literary qualities and historical judgement. Even the best of material will be ruined, if there is no artistry in writing or presentation.

To find anyone possessing all these qualities is most difficult. I do not want a second-rate or shoddy work to commemorate our great struggle. Nor do I want a panegyric or a mere record of events. The critical faculty has to be exercised and things seen in perspective.

Even before such a work can be really undertaken, it will be necessary to collect the available material for it. That itself is a very big task. Indeed it means a survey of all aspects of national activity during the past two generations and more especially during the last 30 years. That collection would become the nucleus of a national museum.

I think some steps might be taken early to begin collecting this material. This will require the cooperation not only of Provincial Governments but even more so of the Congress organization. Perhaps a small committee might be set up to consider this first.

I would like you to give thought to this proposal. Later, if necessary, your suggestions in regard to it, together with this note of mine, might be placed before the Cabinet.

4. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
March 4, 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Thank you for your letter of the 4th March,² sending me a copy of a letter³ of Ashutosh Lahiri.⁴ I do not know what the Higher powers are doing. But it is perfectly true that the lady in question⁵ has met me several times in Delhi and Lucknow. Being averse to meeting Sanyasis and the like, I avoided seeing her. But Shyama Prasad Mookerjee pressed me to do so. Then, one day, Jagatnarain Lal brought her to see me. I found her an attractive and intelligent young woman. Since then she has seen me on several occasions and usually discussed two subjects—the Hindu Code Bill and the question of language, i.e., Hindi. She tried to influence me in regard to these two matters and I have tried to influence her the other way. I do not know what success I have had, but she has had none, so far as I am concerned. She has further been pressing me to attend her conference in Lucknow. I refused to do so, but I sent her a message.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Forwarding a copy of Lahiri's letter to Nehru, Patel enquired whether Nehru had "experienced any influence of the ethereal inspiration and whether the new contact has been responsible for any new development."
3. Ashutosh Lahiri wrote to V.D. Savarkar that Shraddha Mata was "working for changing the outlook of the outstanding Congress leaders and, for that purpose, she has also been in active contact with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru". He added that "higher powers are guiding the destiny of India and this might lead to new developments."
4. (1882-1976); General Secretary, All India Hindu Mahasabha.
5. Shraddha Mata.

5. To P.R. Das¹

New Delhi
March 5, 1949

My dear Das,²

Your letter of the 11th February with its enclosure³ was only placed before me day before yesterday. I am sorry for this delay. I have been partly out of Delhi.

I have read your letter and your memorandum to Trygve Lie,⁴ Secretary-General of the United Nations. I confess, I feel exceedingly surprised. I am writing to you only briefly now and intend writing at greater length a little later. But the idea of any Indian addressing the Secretary-General of the United Nations in regard to our domestic affairs is definitely odd. It means appealing to foreign powers to interfere in our internal arrangements. Apart from this being outside the scope of the United Nations, this raises rather important questions as to what a citizen of India should do and how far it is right for him to go outside India to seek foreign support against his own Government.

You refer to the liberty of the press having been put an end to and you mention an order passed by the Bengal Government on *Saturday Mail*. I am not acquainted with the *Saturday Mail* and do not know what this order is.⁵ I shall enquire. I do know, however, that a number of periodicals associated on the one hand with the Communist Party and on the other with the Hindu Mahasabha and R.S.S. movements have been writing stuff of the most virulent and abusive kind and Government have tolerated them because of their desire not to interfere with the press as far as possible. I am not sure how the West Bengal Government function in this respect, but generally speaking we have encouraged the formation of Press

1. File No. 2 (374)/49-PMS.

2. Prafulla Ranjan Das (1881-1963); Barrister and Jurist; brother of C.R. Das; Advocate, Calcutta High Court 1906; Advocate, Patna High Court, 1916; Judge, Patna High Court, 1919-1930; defended Veer Savarkar in Gandhi Murder Trial; President, All-India Civil Liberties Conference, Madras, 1949.

3. P.R. Das wrote to the U.N. Secretary-General that liberty of the individual in India was a fiction as long as executive authority was allowed to override judicial authority by the Constitution. He said that Nehru was aiming at Congress dictatorship and criticized the Government for passing a censorship order on the *Saturday Mail*, and for denial to some arrested people of the right to appeal to courts of law for release.

4. Trygve Halvdan Lie (1896-1968); Member, Norwegian Parliament, 1935 and 1945; Minister of Trade and Industry, 1939-40; Chairman, Norwegian delegation to U.N. Conference, San Francisco, 1945; Secretary-General of U.N., 1946-53; Author of *In the Cause of Peace*.

5. Under the West Bengal Security Act, 1948, the Government of West Bengal imposed a precensorship ban on *Saturday Mail* (an English weekly started in 1944) on 11 January 1949.

Advisory Committees⁶ consisting of representatives of the local press, and it is only on the advice of these Committees that Government takes any action.

I have fairly considerable experience of the press of various countries and I do not remember seeing anything quite so virulent and vulgar as has been appearing in some of these periodicals in India. There have been open or indirect incitements to violence and praise of those who have committed violence and murder. It is not my conception of civil liberty or of the freedom of the press to permit these incitements to violence. Indeed, this degrades the whole press and brings it into disrepute apart from other undesirable consequences.

Presumably, you are concerned with the action taken against the R.S.S. organization. This organization, according to a mass of evidence in our possession, has been working for violent upheavals and for individual violence. Action is taken against them because of an open defiance of authority. The freedom of the individual must be respected, but where that freedom is construed as being a right to interfere with other people's freedom, then it is a different matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. Press Advisory Committees were set up in 1946, in Bengal, Bihar, Bombay, M.P., Madras, Punjab and in the U.P. with a central committee in Delhi. The primary function of these committees was to provide an opportunity for the Government to discuss with representatives of the press any action that was contemplated to be taken in respect of publications and to which Government had taken objection.

6. To Amrit Kaur¹

New Delhi
March 5, 1949

My dear Amrit,

I enclose a draft appeal prepared by Rajaji for the Sarojini Naidu Memorial.² I discussed your suggestion with him and with Vallabhbhai Patel. Both felt that it

1. File No. 2 (368)/49-PMS.

2. A children's hospital was planned as a memorial to Sarojini Naidu, to be contiguous to the Kamala Nehru and Begum Azad Memorial Hospitals in Allahabad. Rs. 10 lakhs was proposed to be raised for it.

would be better to choose Allahabad for the hospital because of different reasons. Delhi would be rather official from the point of view of this memorial. But of course we should try to have a hospital in Delhi also.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

7. Ministers and Diplomats¹

May I draw your attention to a relatively small matter which is creating a bad impression in the diplomatic circles here. It has happened on several occasions that some people who had been invited to a meal by one of the foreign diplomats and who had accepted that invitation, did not turn up for the meal. This not only meant waiting for the others but a disarrangement of the table plan at the very last moment. In the case of Ministers this is particularly disconcerting, as it is considered desirable to wait for them as long as possible. We have been asked by some of the diplomats whether it is an Indian custom to accept an invitation for a meal and then not to attend. Needless to say this has been an embarrassing position for me and others. A normal meal in European style has a fixed number of seats arranged in some kind of order which is upset even if one person drops out. A diplomatic banquet is arranged strictly in accordance with protocol and the upset is even greater. I would therefore beg of you to keep this matter in mind and to inform your chief officers also of it. Small incidents of this kind have a tendency to affect international relations. At a dinner that the Egyptian Ambassador² gave tonight, several persons, including a Minister, were absent and the whole company waited for about 40 minutes for them.

1. Note to Foreign Minister, 15 March 1949, J.N. Collection.

2. Ismail Kamel Bay.

8. The Ajmer Dargah Committee¹

Regarding the attached letter from H.V.R. Iengar,² I rather doubt if the objections raised by Shankar Prasad³ were valid at the time he raised them, and if they were valid, those objections especially applied to the committee of three appointed. Except for Mr. Justice Ghulam Hussain,⁴ who is a neutral person of high judicial standing, the other two persons represent an outlook which has created some trouble in the past, more especially Sir Mohammed Yamin Khan.⁵

2. I do not myself see how the appointment of Sir Mohammed Yamin Khan gets over the objections raised because he certainly belongs to a particular group. I do not know much about Nawab Mohammed Yar Jung.⁶ As it is difficult to have a committee of persons not connected with any school of thought, it is better to have some persons there at least connected with a liberal approach. I would not have suggested Maulana Madni⁷ for such a committee. But Maulana Farooqui has done good work whenever he has been tried.

3. It might be worthwhile to get the opinion of the present Chief Commissioner of Ajmer⁸ on this subject.

4. The whole point is that the present committee is a complete flop and errs very much in a direction which is not desirable.

1. Note on appointment of members of the Ajmer Dargah Committee, 19 March 1949. File No. 28(13)/48-PMS. In 1947, 7 out of 9 local members of the Ajmer Dargah Committee had left for Pakistan, reducing local representation.
2. H.V.R. Iengar's letter of 18 March 1949 to A.V. Pai communicated Nehru's view supporting Maulana Farooqui's inclusion in the Dargah Committee, but Sardar Patel agreed with Shankar Prasad's opinion that Maulana Farooqui, Hifzur Rehman and Hussein Ahmed Madni be excluded.
3. Shankar Prasad felt that to include a representative of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, as Nehru proposed, would not be desirable as past experience had shown that spiritual leaders with an exclusively religious approach usually found it hard to agree on controversial matters.
4. Ghulam Hussain (1891-1954); Senior Judge, Lucknow Bench of Allahabad High Court, 1948-52; Chairman, Dargah Khwaja Saheb Ajmer Enquiry Committee, 1949; Judge, Supreme Court of India, 1952-54.
5. Represented Muslim League Party in Central Legislature from 1920.
6. Member, Legislative Council U.P., 1910-17; Judge, Hyderabad 1918; Chief Justice, 1925.
7. (1879-1957); imprisoned in connection with Silk Conspiracy Case, 1914-19; arrested during Khilafat Movement, 1922; leader of Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind but collaborated with Indian National Congress; arrested during the Civil Disobedience Movement, 1930 and 1932 and in the Quit India Movement, 1942.
8. C.B. Nagarkar, I.C.S.

9. To Syed Mahmud¹

New Delhi
25 March 1949

My dear Mahmud,

I have your letter of the 17th March.

It is true that our relations with Pakistan are improving. But we have still a long way to go. The leading figures in Pakistan continue to behave in a thoroughly bad way. What they have done in the Frontier and what they are doing now, is very bad.

As for Hyderabad, the figures of Muslims being killed that you mention are wild and fantastic. It is true that there was a good deal of killing, partly by local people and partly by returning refugees.² Nevertheless, the actual killing was far less than what you have heard.

We are continually impressing upon the Government there to help the Muslims who have suffered. I mentioned the matter to the Nizam also. But thus far he has not made any move.

Yours affectionately,
Jawahar

1. Syed Mahmud Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. On 13 September 1948 Indian troops moved into Hyderabad and remained in direct control till the end of 1949.

10. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
29 March 1949

My dear Rajaji,

We have received no information yet about Vallabhbhai's plane.² We are in touch with all the aerodromes round about Delhi and Jaipur. The R.I.A.F. have sent a Dakota aircraft for purposes of reconnaissance. All the railway stations *en route* have been informed and asked to send out search parties. Police stations *en route* have also been informed. The Chief Commissioner of Delhi has sent a truck fitted

1. File No. 32(46)/48-PMS.
2. Vallabhbhai Patel's plane, flying to Jaipur from Delhi, made a forced landing on a road, 40 miles north of Jaipur. He reached Jaipur by car at 11 P.M., several hours late.

with wireless on the road to Jaipur. The Army authorities are also sending military trucks to move about this area between Delhi and Jaipur.

V.P. Menon started from Jaipur by aircraft at about 9 and is due here in Delhi within the next quarter of an hour.

There is no further news to give for the moment and I can think of nothing more we can do. I shall ring you up as soon as V.P. Menon comes.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

11. Agitation Among Hindi Writers¹

There has been considerable agitation among Hindi writers at their exploitation by publishers. Most of these writers are foolish enough to sell their copyright for a small sum to a publisher, who subsequently makes large profits out of it.

There are cases where the writer is starving and the publisher has made very good money out of his books and continues to make money.

This seems inequitable. I do not know how this difficulty can be met. But a Hindi Writers' Association has sent me a draft for an amendment of the Copyright Act of 1911.² I am sending a copy of this and I should like to have your opinion.

1. Note to the Minister for Law, 8 April 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. The U.K. Copyright Act of 1911 with some modifications to make it applicable to the then British India was passed in 1914 as Indian Copyright Act. Hindi Writers' Association demanded an independent self-contained law consistent with the changed constitutional status of India and in fulfilment of international obligations in the field of copyright.

12. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
14 April 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose a copy of a note which the Commander-in-Chief has sent about voluntary military training for civilians.² I have also had a talk with the Commander-in-Chief on this subject. The proposal appeals to me. There is no cost involved and it would be worthwhile our experimenting with it for a few months at the military cantonments mentioned.³ We shall then know what the public response is and find out any possible defects in the system.

If this is successful, it might be extended to some other areas where the police might take it up. But I think it should be limited to the Army to begin with.

So far as the police is concerned, the Provincial Government would naturally have to agree. So far as the Army is concerned, this is not strictly necessary, though of course Provincial Governments' cooperation should be sought.

I should be grateful if you could let me have your opinion about this proposal.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 8, pp. 129-130.
2. K.M. Cariappa proposed in his note of 12 April 1949 to start voluntary classes in simple military training for civilian volunteers between the ages of 18 and 35 at no cost. This was to inculcate discipline.
3. The cantonments mentioned in the letter were Amritsar, Jalandhar, Ambala, Delhi, Lucknow, Jhansi, Calcutta, Madras, Nagpur, Bangalore, Coimbatore, Pune, Bombay and Ahmedabad. It was proposed to start the experiment on 15 May.

13. To P. Subbarayan¹

New Delhi
April 14, 1949

My dear Subbarayan,

Your letter of the 11th April. I am afraid I do not understand and I am not very much interested in the intricacies of Madras politics.² They produce a feeling of acute distaste. I cannot therefore advise you in this matter at all.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 9, pp. 403-404.

GLOSSARY

Acharya (of Visva Bharati)	chancellor
Adivasis	tribals
Churidars	a pair of breeches
Dargah	tomb of a Muslim saint
Devanagari	script adopted for Sanskrit, Hindi, and some other Indian languages
Durbar	ceremonial assembly
Gurudeva	preceptor; title used for Rabindranath Tagore
Haj	pilgrimage to Mecca
Jagirdari	holding of a tract of land and its revenue
Jai Hind	victory to India
Karma	destiny
Kaviraj	physician who practises Indian medicine
Khudai Khidmatgars	servants of God
Khwaja	Muslim mystic
Maqbara	tomb
Mutwalli	person entrusted with the management of Muslim religious foundations
Paramahamsa	a self-denying devotee of God; title used for the mystic Ramakrishna
Prayaschit	penance
Rashtrabhasha	national language
Sadar-i-Riyasat	regent
Sahitya	literature
Sarva Priya	dear to all
Sherwani	long coat
Swamiji	Hindu religious teacher
Swaraj	self-government
Tamil Valarchi	
Kazhagam	a non-political group working for the progress of Tamil language, literature and arts
Yuvaraj	prince

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During the ten weeks from 16 February to 30 April 1949, which have been covered in this volume, the Prime Minister was fully absorbed, after the settlement of the disorders immediately after independence, in the work of national reconstruction along with the heavy responsibility of the External Affairs Department. For building a new nation strong in the sectors of both agriculture and industry he called upon all Indians to put in sincere and hard labour with a promise to render all official help to expedite the process.

Curtailement of unnecessary expenditure, finding out ways and means to make India self-sufficient in food within a prescribed period, and working for the planned economy were Nehru's major domestic concerns. The question of the national language, development of India's own languages, and possible reorganisation of the provinces on a linguistic basis were other important issues which attracted his attention. He also took a keen interest in educational and cultural activities so that India could carve out a special niche for herself.

The items in this volume also bring out the significant role that Nehru played on the highly controversial issue of India continuing as a Republic in the Commonwealth. With great efficiency Nehru tackled the resistance at home as well as abroad to India continuing as a member of the Commonwealth while retaining the status of a Republic. In the sphere of foreign relations, Nehru was in favour of extending a friendly hand to small and weak nations. So he tried to help in settling the problem of civil war in Burma. In his dealings with the big powers, however, he wanted the goodwill of Indian people to be blended with astuteness and firmness.

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